

LOS ANGELES MUSEUM
EXPOSITION PARK



Vide Pp. 45-89.



369.121

LOS ANGELES MUSEUM
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Ryāce Ballana Collins
from her father.

Heldridge Orr Collins.

See pp 70. 71 for Ancestors of
Haldridge Ozro Cairns who
served in the Pequot War.

Vide articles au pp 43. 59. 73. 111.
Pegmat War.

PAPERS AND ADDRESSES

OF THE

Society of Colonial Wars

IN THE

STATE OF CONNECTICUT

TOGETHER WITH THE CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS, REGISTER OF
OFFICERS AND MEMBERS AND NECROLOGIES, FORMING

VOLUME II

OF THE

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY

BY VOTE OF THE COUNCIL AT A MEETING HELD ON FEBRUARY
TENTH NINETEEN HUNDRED AND NINE THIS VOLUME WAS
ORDERED PRINTED. ARRANGED AND EDITED BY A SPECIAL
COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION THEN APPOINTED

THEODORE SALISBURY WOOLSEY

ARTHUR REED KIMBALL

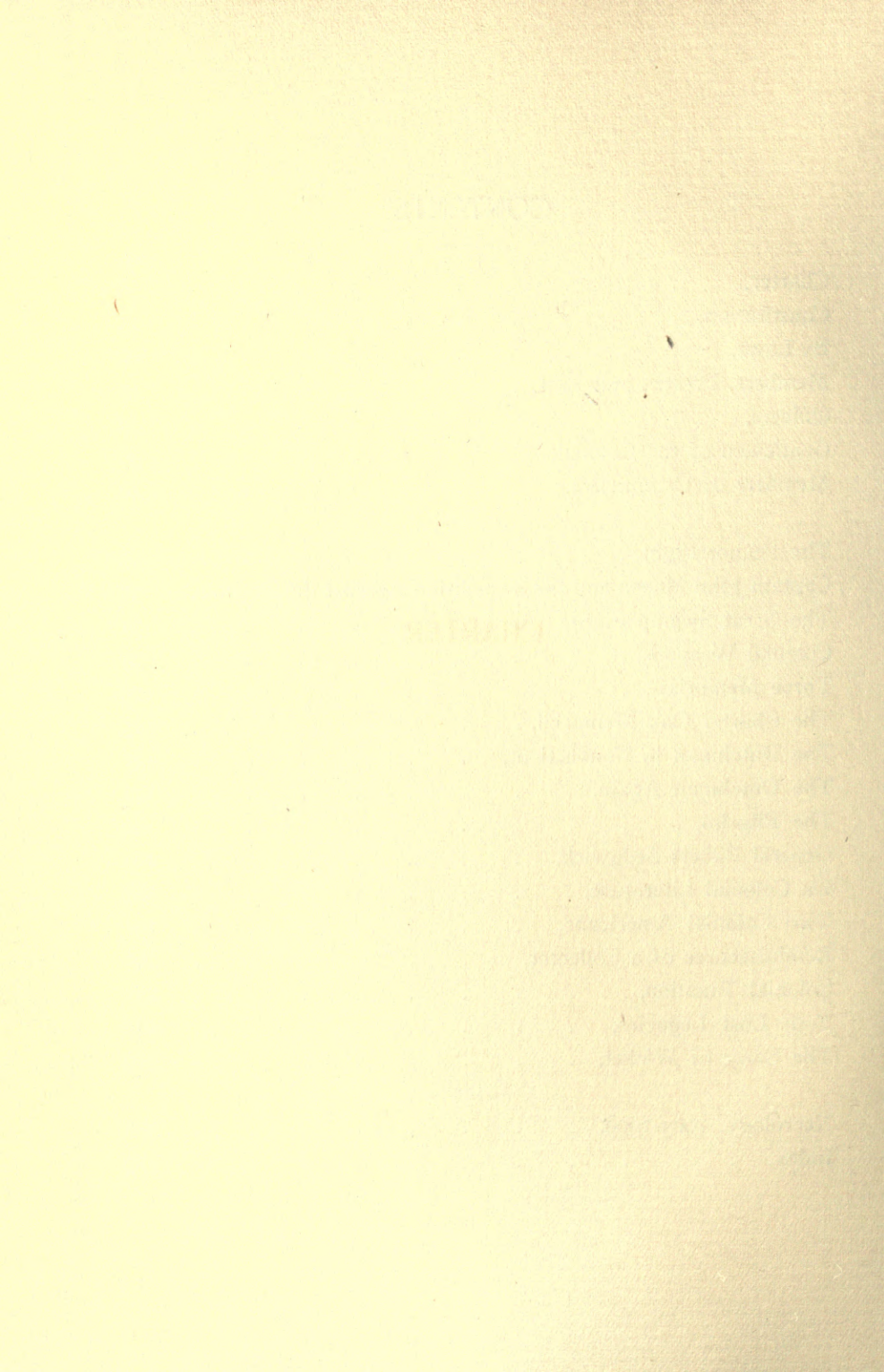
WILLISTON WALKER

LUCIUS ALBERT BARBOUR

LOS ANGELES MUSEUM
EXPOSITION PARK

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CHARTER

SOCIETY OF COLONIAL WARS,
IN THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

April 26th, 1893.

MESSRS. CHARLES S. WARD, GEORGE M. GUNN, GEORGE H. FORD,
CHARLES H. TROWBRIDGE, CHARLES A. TOMLINSON, NATHAN G.
POND, W. CECIL DURAND, NICHOLAS M. POND, NATHAN A.
BALDWIN :

GENTLEMEN :—

Your Petition to organize the Society of Colonial Wars in the State of Connecticut is hereby granted under the provisions of the Constitution of this Society.

It is mutually understood and agreed that all your actions will be governed by the Constitution of this Society, until a General Constitution is ratified at a General Assembly of Delegates from the different State Societies by unanimous consent.

By order of the Council,

HOWLAND PELL,

Secretary.

FREDERIC J. DE PEYSTER,

Governor.

The Society of Colonial Wars in the State of Connecticut was incorporated under the laws of Connecticut, May 21st, 1893, by the following gentlemen:—MESSRS. CHARLES S. WARD, CHARLES H. TROWBRIDGE, NATHAN G. POND, WM. CECIL DURAND, GEORGE M. GUNN, CHARLES A. TOMLINSON, FREDERICK L. TIBBALS, LYNDE HARRISON, A. HEATON ROBERTSON, and GEORGE H. FORD.

FIRST GENERAL COURT

The first General Court of the Society of Colonial Wars in the State of Connecticut was held in New Haven on December 14, 1893, at which time most of the officers and a Council were chosen. An adjourned General Court was held in New Haven on May 26, 1894, the 257th anniversary of the attack by Captain John Mason and his forces on the Pequot fort in Mistick. At this time the rest of the officers were elected, and the Constitution and By-Laws were adopted by a unanimous vote, about thirty-one members of the Society being present.

THE CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

CONSTITUTION

ARTICLE I.

NAME OF THE SOCIETY.

This Society shall be known by the name of the "Society of Colonial Wars in the State of Connecticut." It recognizes the authority of the "General Society of Colonial Wars," and all its proceedings shall be subject to the Constitution of said General Society.

ARTICLE II.

OBJECTS OF THE SOCIETY.

The Society of Colonial Wars is instituted to perpetuate the memory of the events of American Colonial History, and of the men, who, in military and naval service, and in civil positions of trust and responsibility, by their acts or counsel, assisted in the establishment, defense and preservation of the American Colonies, and were in truth the founders of the Nation. To this end it seeks to collect and preserve manuscripts, rolls, relics, and records; to provide suitable commemorations or memorials of events in Colonial History; and to inspire in its members the fraternal and patriotic spirit of their forefathers, and in the community respect and reverence for those whose public services made our freedom and unity possible.

ARTICLE III.

MEMBERSHIP.

Any man above the age of twenty-one years, of good moral character and reputation in the community, whose direct ancestor in the male line came to reside in the American Colonies before the year 1750, shall be eligible to membership in this Society, provided

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that he is lineally descended in either male or female line from an ancestor :

(1) Who served as a military or naval officer, or as a soldier, sailor, or marine, or as a privateersman, under authority of the Colonies which afterward formed the United States, or in the forces of Great Britain which participated with those of the said Colonies in any wars in which the said Colonies were engaged, or in which they enrolled men, from the settlement of Jamestown, May 13, 1607, to the battle of Lexington, April 19, 1775; or

(2) Who held office in any of the Colonies between the dates above mentioned, either as

(a) Director-General, Vice-Director-General, or member of the Council, or legislative body in the Colony of New Netherlands ;

(b) Governor, Lieutenant or Deputy-Governor, Lord Proprietor, member of the King's or Governor's Council, or legislative body in the Colonies of New York, New Jersey, Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Delaware ;

(c) Lord Proprietor, Governor, Deputy-Governor, or member of the Council, or of the legislative body in Maryland and the Carolinas ;

(d) Governor, Deputy-Governor, Governor's Assistant, or Commissioner to the United Colonies of New England, or member of the Council, body of Assistants, or legislative body in any of the New England Colonies ; provided, that descent from Deputies to the General Assembly who performed no military service, shall not be available for entrance into this Society, but may be used for supplementary proof of honorable descent. Inheritance of membership from a deceased member shall be by primogeniture, but shall not be permitted unless the Council be satisfied that the heir is personally acceptable in regard to character and reputation.

ARTICLE IV.

OFFICERS.

The Officers of the Society shall be a Governor, a Deputy Governor, a Lieutenant Governor, a Secretary, and a Treasurer, who

shall be *ex officio* members of the Council; also a Chaplain, a Registrar, and a Historian.

ARTICLE V.

GENTLEMEN OF THE COUNCIL AND COMMITTEES.

There shall be a Council consisting of nine members in addition to the *ex officio* members, a Committee on Membership consisting of five members, and a Committee on Collection of Historical Documents and Records consisting of five members. At a meeting of the Society other than the annual meeting, the Society shall elect by ballot thirteen members from whom a nominating committee of seven shall be drawn by lot, which committee shall, one month before the next General Court of the Society, mail to every member a list of names to be voted on for officers and committees at the annual election.

ARTICLE VI.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

The officers above named, together with the members of the Council and members of the Committees, shall be elected at the General Court by ballot. A plurality vote shall elect, and said officers and members of the Committees shall hold office for the period of one year, or until their successors shall be duly elected and qualified. The other gentlemen of the Council first elected under this Constitution shall be divided by lot into three classes, three persons in each class, whereof one class shall hold office for one year, one class for two years, and one class for three years, and at the General Court successors shall be elected to the members of the class which completes its term of office. In this article the first year is understood to mean the time from the General Court of the year 1894 to that of the year 1895.

Vacancies among the officers or in the Council or Committees shall be filled for the residue of the current term at a meeting of the Council called on one month's notice.

ARTICLE VII.

ELECTION OF MEMBERS.

An invitation to become a member shall be given only by the Council, who shall vote on each name by ballot, one adverse vote in five to cause rejection of the candidate. Gentlemen accepting the invitation will file preliminary applications stating the name, residence and services of the Colonial ancestors from whom their eligibility is derived. Formal application papers must be subscribed by the applicant and approved by two members of the Society over their signatures. Applications shall be accompanied by proof of eligibility, and such application and proof shall be referred to the Committee on Membership, who shall carefully investigate the same and report at the next meeting of the Council their recommendation thereon. Members shall be elected by vote at a Council of the Society duly called, but a negative vote of one in five of the ballots cast shall cause the rejection of any candidate. Payment of the initiation fee and dues, and subscription to the Declaration contained in the Constitution of the Society, shall be a prerequisite of membership.

ARTICLE VIII.

DECLARATION.

Every member shall declare upon honor that he will use his best efforts to promote the purposes of the Society and will observe the Constitution and By-Laws of the same; and shall sign a declaration that he will support the Constitution of the United States.

ARTICLE IX.

PURPOSES.

At every meeting of the Council the purposes and general welfare of the Society shall be considered and measures taken to promote and secure them. No party political question of the day or existing controversial religious subject shall be discussed or considered at any meeting of the Society.

ARTICLE X.

COMMEMORATIONS.

The Society shall celebrate yearly some martial event in Colonial History, as a festival day, and its members shall dine together at least once in each year.

ARTICLE XI.

SEAL.

The Seal shall be—A title scroll "1633. Society of Colonial Wars in the State of Connecticut. 1775," secured at base with arrows; within a shield surmounted of the Crown, quarterly of four; 1 and 4 argent 3 grapevines leaved and fruited proper; 2 and 3 argent a cross of Saint George, gules.

The Secretary shall be the Custodian of the Seal.

ARTICLE XII.

INSIGNIA AND DIPLOMA.

The Insignia and Diploma are those of the General Society.

ARTICLE XIII.

FLAG.

The flag of this Society shall consist of the Red Cross of Saint George on a white field having in the center an escutcheon bearing one grapevine.

ARTICLE XIV.

ALTERATIONS OR AMENDMENTS.

Alterations or amendments of this Constitution signed by no less than five members proposing the same, may be presented at any meeting of the Society: said amendments with the proposers' names shall be printed by the Secretary and sent to every member of the Society, but shall not be voted upon except at a General Court held

not less than six months after the proposed amendments shall have been printed and distributed. No amendment shall be made unless adopted by a two-thirds vote of the members present at the Court voting upon the same.

BY-LAWS

SECTION I.

FEES AND DUES.

The initiation fee shall be ten dollars; the annual dues five dollars, payable on or before the first day of January of each year; *provided*, that any member elected and paying annual dues during the last three months of the year shall not be required to pay the annual dues for the year next ensuing. The payment at one time of one hundred dollars shall constitute life-membership, such payment being in lieu of initiation fee and all annual dues. All life-membership moneys thus collected, and all initiation fees hereafter, shall be put into a fund, the income of which shall be available for the running expenses of the Society.

The Council shall have the power to drop from the roll the name of any member of the Society who shall be at least two years in arrears and shall fail, on proper notice, to pay the same within sixty days, and on being dropped his membership shall cease, but he may be restored to membership at any time by the Council upon his written application and the payment of all such arrears from the date when he was dropped to the date of his restoration.

SECTION II.

RESIGNATION.

No resignation of any member shall become effective unless consented to by the Council.

SECTION III.

DISQUALIFICATION AND EXPULSION.

No person who may be enrolled as a member of this Society shall be permitted to continue in membership when his proofs of descent or eligibility shall be found to be defective. The Council, after thirty days' notice to such a person to substantiate his claim, and upon his failure satisfactorily so to do, may require the Secretary to erase his name from the membership list. The said person shall have a right to appeal to the Society at its next Court, or at the General Court. If the said appeal be sustained by a two-thirds vote of the members present at such Court, the said person's name shall be restored to said membership.

Any member, for conduct inconsistent with the character of a gentleman and man of honor, or for serious disloyalty to the Society, or for other grave cause, may be suspended or expelled from the Society. But no member shall be suspended or expelled unless written charges are presented against him. The Council, after hearing such charges, and giving him an opportunity for reply to them, may act by a two-thirds vote; and its action shall be final.

SECTION IV.

VACANCIES AND TERMS OF OFFICE.

Whenever an officer of this Society shall die, resign, or neglect to serve, or be suspended, or be unable to perform his duties by reason of absence, sickness, or other cause, and whenever an office shall be vacant which the Society shall not have filled by an election, the Council, being summoned at one month's notice, shall have power to appoint a member to such office *pro tempore*, who shall act in such capacity until the Society shall elect a member to the vacant office, or until the inability due to said cause shall cease; provided, however, that the office of Governor shall not be filled by the Council when there shall be a Deputy or Lieutenant-Governor to enter on these duties. The Council may supply vacancies among its members under the same conditions, and should any member other than an

officer be absent from three consecutive meetings of the same, without sufficient excuse, his place may be declared vacant by the Council and filled by appointment until an election of a successor. Subject to these provisions, all officers and gentlemen of the Council shall from the time of election continue in their respective offices until the next General Court, or until their successors are chosen.

SECTION V.

GOVERNOR.

The Governor, or in his absence the Deputy, or Lieutenant-Governor, or Chairman *pro tem.*, shall preside at all Courts of the Society, and shall exercise the duties of a presiding officer, under parliamentary rules, subject to an appeal to the Society. The Governor shall be a member *ex officio* of all Committees excepting the Nominating Committee and the Committee on Membership. He shall have power to convene the Council at his discretion, or upon the written request of five members of the Society, or upon the like request of three members of the Council.

SECTION VI.

CHAPLAIN.

The Chaplain shall be an ordained minister of a Christian church, and it shall be his duty to officiate when called upon by the proper officers.

SECTION VII.

SECRETARY.

The Secretary shall conduct the general correspondence of the Society, and keep a record thereof. He shall properly notify all persons elected to membership in the Society, and shall perform such other duties as the Society or his office may require. He shall have charge of the Seal, certificates of incorporation, constitution,

by-laws, historical and other documents and records of the Society other than those required to be deposited with the Registrar, and shall affix the seal to all properly authenticated certificates of membership, and transmit the same to the members to whom they may be issued. He shall notify the Registrar of all admissions to membership. He shall certify all acts of the Society, and when required authenticate them under seal. He shall have charge of printing and of publications issued by the Society. He shall give due notice of the time and place of the holding of all courts of the Society and of meetings of the Council. He shall keep fair and accurate records of all the proceedings and orders of the Society and of the Council, and shall give notice to each officer who may be affected by them, of all votes, resolutions and proceedings of the Society or Council, and at the General Court, or oftener, shall report the names of those candidates who have been admitted to membership, and shall read the names of those members whose resignations have been accepted or who have been expelled for cause or for failure to substantiate claim of descent. In his absence from any meeting, a Secretary *pro tem.* may be designated therefor.

The Secretary may be paid a salary at the discretion of the Council.

SECTION VIII.

TREASURER.

The Treasurer shall collect and keep the funds and securities of the Society, and as often as those funds shall amount to one hundred dollars, they shall be deposited in some bank in the city of residence of the Treasurer, to the credit of the "Society of Colonial Wars in the State of Connecticut," and such funds shall be drawn thence on the check of the Treasurer for the purposes of the Society only. Out of these funds he shall pay such sums only as may be ordered by the Society or the Council, or his office may require. He shall keep a true account of his receipts and payments, and at each annual meeting render the same to the Society.

For the faithful performance of his duty he may be required to give such security as the Society shall deem proper.

SECTION IX.

HISTORIAN.

The Historian shall keep a detailed record of all historical and commemorative celebrations of the Society, and in conjunction with the Secretary shall edit and prepare for publication such historical addresses, papers and other documents as the Council may see fit to publish. He shall also prepare a necrological list for each year, with biographies of deceased members, which he may be called upon to read at meetings of the Society.

SECTION X.

REGISTRAR.

The Registrar shall receive and file all the proofs upon which membership or supplemental ancestral record has been granted, with a list of all diplomas countersigned by him, and all documents which the Society may obtain; and he under direction of the Council shall make copies of such papers as the owners may not be willing to leave in the keeping of the Society.

SECTION XI.

COUNCIL.

The Council shall meet as often as required, or at the call of the Secretary, or at the written request of three of its members. Five shall be a quorum for the transaction of business. It shall perform the duties prescribed by the Constitution of the Society and these By-Laws, shall have general control and management of the affairs and funds of the Society, shall cause a report of proceedings to be made annually to the Society, and may appoint Committees on the Society's affairs, composed wholly or in part of members of the Society outside of its own number. The Council may for cause

suspend any officer, and its action must be reported to the Society for approval or the reverse within thirty days.

SECTION XII.

COMMITTEE ON MEMBERSHIP.

The Committee on Membership shall consist of five members chosen by ballot at the General Court of the Society. Three members shall constitute a quorum and a negative vote of two shall cause an adverse report to the Council on the candidate's application. The proceedings of the Committee shall be secret and confidential. Any member of this Committee failing to attend three successive meetings, without sufficient excuse, shall be dropped from the Committee, and some one else may be appointed by the Council to serve for the rest of his term.

The Committee shall have power to make By-Laws for its government and for other purposes not inconsistent with the Constitution or By-Laws of the Society.

SECTION XIII.

COURTS.

The General Court of the Society for the year 1894 shall be held on the second Wednesday of December, and thereafter the General Court shall be held on the first Wednesday in May, in commemoration of the First General Court of the Colony of Connecticut held at Hartford on the first day of May, 1637 [O. S.], at which time the Sovereignty of the Colony was first asserted by the formal Declaration of War against the Nation of the Pequots. Other courts shall generally be held once in each season of the year at such anniversaries as the Society, or in event of its failure to choose, the Council may select.

Special Courts may be called by the Governor at such times as in his opinion the interests of the Society may demand, and must be called by the Secretary at the request of ten members; all notices of

meetings shall be sent out at least ten days before the date of meeting. Fifteen members shall constitute a quorum.

SECTION XIV.

LOCAL SECRETARIES.

When ten or more members of the Society shall be resident in a city or town of the State of Connecticut, one of their number may be appointed Local Secretary by the Council, to hold office for one year, or until he be removed for cause or his successor be duly appointed. Subject to the approval of the Council, a Local Secretary may, in conjunction with the members locally resident, arrange local commemorations of men and events of Colonial History, and attend to such other matters as may from time to time be expressly committed to him by the Council.

SECTION XV.

ADDRESSES OF MEMBERS.

It shall be the duty of every member to inform the Secretary by written communication of his place of residence and of any change thereof, and of his post-office address. Service of any notice under the Constitution or By-Laws on any member, addressed to his last residence or post-office address, forwarded by mail, shall be sufficient service of notice.

SECTION XVI.

ALTERATION OR AMENDMENT.

No alteration or amendment of the By-Laws shall be made unless notice shall have been duly given in writing, signed by the member proposing the same, at a Court of the Society.

The Secretary shall send a printed copy of the proposed amendment to the members of the Society, and state the Court at which the same will be voted upon. No amendment or alteration shall be made unless adopted by a two-thirds vote of the members present at the Court voting upon the same.

MEMBERS, OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES

LIST OF MEMBERS

STATE SOCIETY No.		GENERAL SOCIETY No.
144	Abbot, Edgar Wade, 29 Barclay St., New York City	1997
222	Adams, Henry, Greenville, Cal.	4253
148	Andrews, James Sherlock, Rochester, N. Y.	2001
125	Andrews, Rev. William Given, D.D., Guilford	1978
178	Arms, Frank Thornton, Paymaster, U. S. N.	3111
160	Baldwin, Wilson Leslie, Stamford	2179
149	Barbour, Lucius Albert, Hartford	2002
*188	Barnes, Amos Foote, New Haven	3448
123	Beach, John Kimberly, New Haven	1976
157	Beardsley, Morris Beach, Bridgeport	2176
212	Beardsley, Samuel Fayerweather, Bridgeport	3971
*171	Birdseye, Isaac Washington, Bridgeport	2435
95	Bishop, General Henry Alfred, Bridgeport	906
28	Bradley, Cyrus Sherwood, Southport	569
201	Brainard, Morgan Bulkeley, Hartford	3975
223	Brenton, Rev. Cranston, Hartford	1675
176	Brewer, Arthur Henry, Norwich	3146
*173	Brewster, Rt. Rev. Chauncey Bunce, Hartford	3846
227	Brockway, William Stevens, Hartford	2858
218	Bronson, Charles French, Waterbury	4094
117	Bronson, Julius Hobart, Waterbury	1970
*106	Brooker, Charles Frederick, Ansonia	1960
194	Brooks, Isaac Watts, Torrington	3701
107	Buel, John Laidlaw, M.D., Litchfield	1961
* 37	Bulkeley, Hon. Morgan Gardner, Hartford	578
130	Bull, Charles Stedman, M.D., 47 West 36th St., New York City	1983
96	Bunce, Jonathan Brace, Hartford	907
140	Capen, Walter Nelson, Noroton	1993
179	Cary, Melbert Brinkerhoff, Ridgefield	3112

* Life Members

STATE SOCIETY No.		GENERAL SOCIETY No.
75	Catlin, Abijah, Jr., Hartford	616
69	Chapin, Charles Frederick, Waterbury	610
114	Cheney, Colonel Louis Richmond, Hartford	1967
150	Clark, Charles Hopkins, Hartford	2003
58	Collins, Atwood, Hartford	599
202	Comstock, George, Bridgeport	3924
116	Cone, James Brewster, Hartford	1969
* 45	Cooley, Francis Rexford, Hartford	586
*189	Crane, Albert, Stamford	3449
161	Curtis, John Calvin, Bridgeport	2180
*180	Curtis, Lewis Beers, Bridgeport	3113
31	Cutler, Ralph William, Hartford	572
60	Daggett, William Gibbons, M.D., New Haven	601
216	Davenport, John, Stamford	4092
224	DePeu, Rev. John, Bridgeport	4259
192	Downes, John Ireland Howe, New Haven	4090
*109	Eaton, George Francis, New Haven	1962
191	Edwards, Professor Charles Lincoln, Trinity College, Hartford	1404
120	Elton, John Prince, Waterbury	1973
226	Ely, Grosvenor, Norwich	4338
220	Enders, John Ostrom, Hartford	4307
131	Farnam, William Whitman, New Haven	1984
87	Farnsworth, Frederick, M.D., New London	775
* 3	Ford, George Hare, New Haven	29
* 93	Fowler, Professor Franklin Hamilton, New York City	26
74	Gay, Frank Butler, Hartford	615
32	Gooch, Professor Frank Austin, New Haven	573
207	Goodman, Richard Johnston, Hartford	3929
209	Goodwin, Charles Archibald, Hartford	4091
* 48	Goodwin, Rev. Francis, Hartford	588
* 34	Goodwin, James Junius, 11 West 54th St., New York City	575

* Life Members

Members, Officers and Committees

31

STATE SOCIETY No.		GENERAL SOCIETY No.
*213	Goodwin, Walter Lippincott, Hartford	3972
111	Gould, David Henry, Yonkers, N. Y.	1964
198	Griggs, Robert Foote, Waterbury	3777
* 99	Gross, Charles Edward, Hartford	954
219	Gross, Charles Welles, Hartford	4190
200	Hall, Clarence Loines, Hartford	3989
46	Hamersley, Hon. William, LL.D., Hartford	987
126	Harral, Edward Wright, Bridgeport	1979
*170	Harrison, Alexander, Care Morgan, Harjes & Co., Paris, France	2394
40	Hart, Rev. Professor Samuel, D.D., Middletown	581
* 11	Heaton, John Edward, New Haven	552
138	Holcombe, John Marshall, Hartford	1991
41	Hooker, Edward Williams, Hartford	582
132	Hotchkiss, Henry Lucius, New Haven	1985
155	Hoyt, Edward Corse, 72 Gold St., New York City ...	2008
221	Hubbard, Elijah Kent, Jr., Middletown	4191
203	Hungerford, Newman, Hartford	3925
136	Huntington, Frederick Jabez, Norwich	1989
177	Hurlbutt, John Henry, Stamford	3147
151	Hyde, Hon. William Waldo, Hartford	2004
159	Ingalls, Phineas Henry, M.D., Hartford	2178
137	Ingersoll, Charles Anthony, New Haven	1990
*181	Ingraham, William Shurtleff, Bristol	3114
195	Jackson, John Day, New Haven	3698
84	Jarvis, Rev. Samuel Fermor, D.D., Brooklyn, Conn.	625
146	Jennings, Arthur Osborne, Southport	1999
*205	Jennings, Oliver Gould, Fairfield	3927
113	Kellogg, John Prescott, Waterbury	1966
91	Kimball, Arthur Reed, Waterbury	779
52	Kingsbury, Hon. Frederick John, LL.D., Waterbury	593
61	Learned, Major Bela Peck, Norwich	602
68	Learned, Walter, New London	609

* Life Members

STATE SOCIETY No.		GENERAL SOCIETY No.
13	Leete, Charles Sidney, New Haven	554
210	Lippitt, Costello, Norwich	3931
*110	Lockwood, Luke Vincent, 35 Nassau St., New York City	1963
115	Love, Rev. William De Loss, Ph.D., Hartford	1968
*103	Maxwell, Francis Taylor, Rockville	1958
70	Merriman, William Buckingham, Waterbury	611
162	Mitchell, Charles Foote, Waterbury	2181
121	Munger, Carl Eugene, M.D., Waterbury	1974
17	Newton, Henry Gleason, New Haven	558
225	Northrop, Otis Smith, Waterbury	4337
*166	Osborn, Professor Henry Fairfield, 850 Madison Ave., New York City	2328
197	Osgood, Frederick Larned, Norwich	3776
39	Parmelee, George Luther, M.D., D.M.D., Hartford ...	580
* 94	Perkins, Hon. J. Deming, Litchfield	905
139	Perry, Hon. John Hoyt, Southport	1992
65	Pierce, Bradford DeWitt, Bridgeport	606
50	Plumb, Henry Blackman, Battle Creek, Mich.	591
8	Pond, Nicholas Mispree, Milford	171
128	Porter, George Loring, M.D., Bridgeport	1981
208	Prentice, Hon. Samuel Oscar, Hartford	3930
135	Prentis, Edward, New London	1988
79	Raynolds, Edward Villette, New Haven	620
* 59	Roberts, Hon. Henry, Hartford	600
* 12	Robertson, Hon. Abram Heaton, New Haven	553
196	Robinson, Henry Seymour, Hartford	3699
*182	Rockwell, Charles Lee, Meriden	3115
167	Russell, Talcott Huntington, New Haven	2329
* 73	Sanford, Professor Samuel Simons, 50 West 52d St., New York City	614
215	Seeley, Frederick Sterling, Bridgeport	3974
124	Seymour, George Dudley, New Haven	1977

* Life Members

Members, Officers and Committees

33

STATE SOCIETY No.		GENERAL SOCIETY No.
38	Seymour, Hon. Morris Woodruff, Bridgeport	579
57	Shipman, Arthur Leffingwell, Hartford	598
90	Skinner, William Converse, Hartford	778
20	Smith, Bradish Johnson, Milford	561
118	Smith, Herbert Knox, Hartford	1971
211	Smith, Thomas Edward Vermilye, Hartford	879
187	Stanley, Alix Welch, New Britain	3447
186	Stanley, Charles Brown, New Britain	3446
122	Sturges, Henry Cady, Fairfield	1975
154	Taylor, John Metcalf, Hartford	2007
153	Thompson, Harry Grant, New Haven	2006
168	Tingley, Witter Kinney, M.D., Norwich	2330
* 5	Tomlinson, Charles Abraham, Milford	30
204	Trowbridge, Edmund Quincy, 100 Broadway, N. Y.	3926
190	Trowbridge, Hayes Quincy, New Haven	4369
92	Trumbull, Hon. Jonathan, Norwich	780
97	Turner, Luther Guiteau, Torrington	908
* 112	Wakeman, Robert Peel, Southport	1965
63	Walker, Professor Williston, D.D., New Haven	604
* 158	Ward, Brownlee Robertson, M.D., New Haven	2177
18	Warren, Herbert Cleveland, New Haven	559
82	Webster, William Reuben, Bridgeport	623
175	Welles, Roger, Commander, U. S. N.	3145
83	Wheeler, Hon. Ralph, New London	624
185	White, William Henry, Waterbury	3445
217	Whitmore, Franklin Gray, Hartford	4093
* 89	Whitney, Eli, New Haven	777
193	Whittemore, James Madison, Brigadier-General U. S. A., New Haven	1006
199	Wilcox, Frank Langdon, Berlin	3923
206	Williams, George Goodwin, Hartford	3928
156	Williams, Winslow Tracy, Yantic	2009
169	Woolsey, John Munro, 5 Beekman St., New York City	2393
80	Woolsey, Professor Theodore Salisbury, New Haven	621

* Life Members

MEMBERS ADMITTED WHOSE PAPERS HAVE NOT YET
BEEN COMPLETED

Marvin, Loren Pinckney Waldo.....	Hartford
Maxwell, William	Rockville
Hooker, Thomas Williams.....	Hartford
Burns, Samuel Austin.....	Bridgeport
Cooley, Charles Parsons.....	Hartford

DIED

STATE SOCIETY No.			GENERAL SOCIETY No.
6	Pond, Nathan Gillette, first Secretary of the Society,	July 29, 1894	2
* 33	Eaton, Professor Daniel Cady, first Governor of the Society,	June 29, 1895	574
* 62	Smith, Rev. Edward Alfred,	Oct. 26, 1895	603
104	Hoppin, James Mason, Jr.,	Jan. 23, 1897	
26	Miles, Frederick Plumb,	Feb. 19, 1897	567
51	Curtis, Dr. Jonathan Strong,	Mar. 31, 1897	592
* 108	Hungerford, William Allyn,	Apr. 16, 1897	
14	French, Dr. William Freeman,	Jan. 27, 1898	555
9	Baldwin, Nathan Adolphus,	May 19, 1898	12
* 1	Ward, Dr. Charles Samuel, second Secretary of the Society,	July 31, 1898	231
102	Trowbridge, Thomas Rutherford,	Oct. 25, 1898	1957
16	Williams, Right Reverend John, first Chaplain of the Society,	Feb. 7, 1899	557
133	Hayden, Edward Simeon,	Feb. 14, 1899	1986
76	Hungerford, Clarence Catlin	May 2, 1899	617
43	Dennis, Rodney,	June 2, 1899	584
119	Day, John Calvin,	June 24, 1899	1972
47	Walker, Rev. George Leon, D.D.,	Mar. 14, 1900	588

* Life Members

Members, Officers and Committees

35

STATE SOCIETY No.			GENERAL SOCIETY No.
134	Turner, Elisha,	Sept. 14, 1900	1987
85	Warner, Charles Dudley,	Oct. 20, 1900	626
55	Salisbury, Professor Edward El- bridge,	Feb. 5, 1901	596
127	Trowbridge, Ezekiel Hayes,	Nov. 30, 1901	1980
184	Hall, John Henry,	June 25, 1902	3245
88	Brainard, Leverett,	July 2, 1902	776
54	Franklin, Major-General William Buel,	Mar. 8, 1903	595
30	Brown, Charles Edwin,	Sept. 16, 1903	571
145	Wayland, Professor Francis, LL.D.,	Jan. 9, 1904	1998
27	Downes, William Elijah,	Feb. 1, 1904	568
72	Brewster, Hon. Lyman Denison,	Feb. 14, 1904	613
*165	Trowbridge, Edwin Dwight,	Feb. 25, 1904	2327
53	Coit, Hon. Robert,	June 19, 1904	594
19	Smith, Edwin Porter,	Aug. 18, 1904	560
147	Perkins, Nathaniel Shaw,	Feb. 8, 1905	2000
67	Chew, James Lawrence,	Mar. 9, 1905	608
*100	Greene, Col. Jacob Lyman,	Mar. 29, 1905	955
49	Stearns, Henry Putnam, M.D.,	May 26, 1905	590
183	Williams, Harvey Ladew,	Aug. 4, 1905	3116
105	Seeley, William Elmer,	Aug. 25, 1905	1959
78	Whitney, Stephen,	Sept. 3, 1905	619
129	Hammond, Andrew Goodrich, Major, U. S. A.,	Feb. 21, 1906	1982
141	Smith, Archibald Henderson,	Apr. 24, 1906	1994
4	Trowbridge, Charles Hotchkiss,	June 24, 1906	65
56	Shipman, Hon. Nathaniel,	June 26, 1906	597
15	Baird, George William, General, U. S. A.,	Nov. 28, 1906	556
* 24	Cropper, John,	Dec. 6, 1906	565
* 77	Bishop, Timothy Huggins, M.D.,	Dec. 25, 1906	618
143	Smith, Stewart Woodruff,	May 10, 1907	1996

* Life Members

STATE SOCIETY No.			GENERAL SOCIETY No.
142	Day, George Herbert,	Nov. 21, 1907	1995
163	Merwin, Orange,	Nov. 21, 1907	2182
174	Seymour, Professor Thomas Day,	Dec. 31, 1907	3144
81	Woodward, Joseph Gurley,	Mar. 5, 1908	622
25	Sanford, George Bliss, Colonel, U. S. A.,	July 13, 1908	566
* 86	Tyler, Colonel Augustus Cleveland,	Nov. 27, 1908	774
42	Taintor, George Edwin,	Apr. 17, 1909	583
152	Williams, David Willard,	June 8, 1909	2005
214	Curtis, Roderick Perry,	Aug. 9, 1909	3973
35	Wessells, Col. Henry Walton,	Sept. 26, 1909	576

TRANSFERRED TO OTHER STATE SOCIETIES

71	Deming, Judson Keith, to Iowa	612
66	Grant, Thomas Page, to Kentucky	607
2	Gunn, George M., to New York	7

RESIGNED

101	Almy, Leonard Ballou	956
172	Bishop, Professor William Henry	2436
44	Davis, Gustavus Pierrepont, M.D.	585
7	Durand, William Cecil	47
21	Harrison, Hon. Lynde	562
29	Ingersoll, Colin Macrae	570
98	Isham, Charles	104
36	Parkhurst, Major Charles Dyer	577
64	Robinson, Lucius Franklin	605

* Life Members

DROPPED ACCOUNT OF NON-PAYMENT OF DUES, ETC.

STATE SOCIETY No.		GENERAL SOCIETY No.
23	Bissell, Evelyn Lyman, M.D.	564
22	Stoddard, William Buddington	563
10	Tibbals, Frederick Lemuel	551
164	Wayne, Rev. Henry Nicoll	2183

OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF COMMITTEES

Since the organization of the Society of Colonial Wars in the State of Connecticut, the following persons have acted as Officers, Gentlemen of the Council and Members of Committees.

GOVERNOR.

Daniel Cady Eaton	1893-1895
James Junius Goodwin	1895-1900
Frederick John Kingsbury	1900-1902
Theodore Salisbury Woolsey	1902-1905
Charles Edward Gross	1905-1907
Bela Peck Learned	1907-1908
Morris Beach Beardsley	1908-

DEPUTY GOVERNOR.

George Bliss Sanford	1893-1895
Frederick John Kingsbury	1895-1900
Theodore Salisbury Woolsey	1900-1902
Charles Edward Gross	1902-1905
Bela Peck Learned	1905-1907
Morris Beach Beardsley	1907-1908
Louis Richmond Cheney	1908-

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR.

James Junius Goodwin	1893-1895
Theodore Salisbury Woolsey	1895-1900
Charles Edward Gross	1900-1902
Bela Peck Learned	1902-1905
Morris Beach Beardsley	1905-1907
Louis Richmond Cheney	1907-1908
Arthur Reed Kimball	1908-

SECRETARY.

Nathan Gillette Pond	1893-1894*
Charles Samuel Ward	1894-1898*
George Dudley Seymour	1898-1905
Frank Butler Gay	1905-1908
Lucius Albert Barbour	1908-

TREASURER.

Charles Hotchkiss Trowbridge	1893-1904
John Edward Heaton	1904-1905
Ralph William Cutler	1905-

REGISTRAR.

Henry Walton Wessells	1893-1894
Frank Butler Gay	1894-

CHAPLAIN.

Rt. Rev. John Williams, D.D., LL.D.	1894-1899*
Rt. Rev. Chauncey Bunce Brewster, D.D.	1899-

HISTORIAN.

Morris Woodruff Seymour	1894-1898
Williston Walker	1898-

* Died in Office

GENTLEMEN OF THE COUNCIL.

Charles Edwin Brown	1893-1894
William Freeman French, M.D.	1893-1894, 1897-1898*
Evelyn Lyman Bissell, M.D.	1893-1894
George Hare Ford	1893-1895
John Edward Heaton	1893-1894, 1905-
Charles Samuel Ward	1893-1894
Charles Abraham Tomlinson	1893-1894
Ralph William Cutler	1893-1897, 1899-1902, 1904-1905
Abram Heaton Robertson	1893-1896
Frederick John Kingsbury	1894-1895
Gen. William Buel Franklin	1894-1896
Charles Dudley Warner	1894-1899
Rev. Samuel Hart	1894-1895
Lyman Denison Brewster	1894-1897
James Lawrence Chew	1894-1897
Eli Whitney, Jr.	1895-1898
Jacob Lyman Greene	1895-1898
Arthur Reed Kimball	1895-1898, 1901-1904
John Kimberly Beach	1896-1899
Bela Peck Learned	1896-1902, 1908-
Robert Coit	1897-1900
Charles Edward Gross	1897-1900, 1907-
Timothy Higgins Bishop, M.D.	1898-1901, 1903-1906*
George Dudley Seymour	1898-1901, 1905-
Stewart Woodruff Smith	1898-1901
Walter Nelson Capen	1898-1900
Morris Beach Beardsley	1899-1905
James Junius Goodwin	1900-
Frederick Farnsworth, M.D.	1900-1903
Charles Frederick Brooker	1900-1903
Wilson Leslie Baldwin	1901-1904
William Elmer Seeley	1901-1904

* Died in Office

George Edwin Taintor	1902-1905
Edward Villette Raynolds	1902-1905
Isaac Washington Birdseye	1903-1909
Carl Eugene Munger, M.D.	1904-1907
John Hoyt Perry	1904-1907
Prof. Theodore Salisbury Woolsey	1905-
Morris Woodruff Seymour	1905-1908
Lewis Beers Curtis	1907-
William Converse Skinner	1907-1909
Francis Rexford Cooley	1909-
Edward Williams Hooker	1909-

COMMITTEE ON MEMBERSHIP.

William Cecil Durand	1893-1894
Henry Gleason Newton	1893-1895
Herbert Cleveland Warren	1893-1894
William Buddington Stoddard	1893-1894
Morris Woodruff Seymour	1894-1895
Edward Villette Raynolds	1894-1897, 1900-1901
William Hamersley	1894-1895
Charles Samuel Ward, M.D.	1894-1897
Timothy Higgins Bishop, M.D.	1895-1897
Rev. Edward Alfred Smith	1895-1896
Henry Putnam Stearns, M.D.	1895-1898
J. Deming Perkins	1896-1897
Frank Butler Gay	1897-1898, 1909-
Louis Richmond Cheney	1897-1899
Rev. Samuel Hart, D.D.	1897-1898, 1899-1900
Joseph Gurley Woodward	1897-1898
William Gibbons Daggett, M.D.	1898-1899
Rev. William Given Andrews, D.D.	1898-1900
John Marshall Holcombe	1898-1899
Phineas Henry Ingalls, M.D.	1898-1899
Nathaniel Shaw Perkins	1899-1900
Jonathan Trumbull	1899-1900

William Henry Bishop	1899-1900, 1902-1903
John Kimberly Beach	1900-1901, 1903-1905
Robert Peel Wakeman	1900-1902
Lucius Franklin Robinson	1900-1901
Herbert Knox Smith	1900-1902
Henry Cady Sturges	1901-1902
George Francis Eaton	1901-1902
Charles Anthony Ingersoll	1901-1902, 1903-1904
Atwood Collins	1902-1903, 1905-1908
Melbert Brinkerhoff Cary	1902-1903
Winslow Tracy Williams	1902-1903
Isaac Washington Birdseye	1902-1903
Louis Beers Curtis	1903-1907
Francis Rexford Cooley	1903-1905
Archibald Henderson Smith	1903-1904
Amos Foote Barnes	1904-1905
Arthur Reed Kimball	1904-1905
George Edwin Taintor	1905-1909*
John Day Jackson	1905-1907
Arthur Leffingwell Shipman	1905-1907
Wilson Leslie Baldwin	1907-1908
William Whitman Farnham	1907-
Charles Archibald Goodwin	1907-
Charles Welles Gross	1908-
John Prince Elton	1908-

COMMITTEE ON HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS.

Frederick John Kingsbury	1894-1900, 1902-
Prof. Theodore Salisbury Woolsey	1894-1900
Rev. Francis Goodwin	1894-1900, 1902-1903, 1904-
George Edwin Taintor	1894-1894
James Lawrence Chew	1894-1894
Rev. George Leon Walker, D.D.	1894-1899
Jonathan Trumbull	1894-1896, 1902-1903
Prof. Edward Elbridge Salisbury	1896-1900

* Died in Office

Prof. Williston Walker	1899-1900
J. Deming Perkins	1900-1902
Prof. Thomas Day Seymour	1900-1902, 1905-1907*
Rev. William DeLoss Love	1900-1902, 1904-1907
Prof. Francis Wayland	1900-1902
Arthur Leffingwell Shipman	1900-1902, 1903-1905
William Hamersley	1902-1903
Carl Eugene Munger, M.D.	1902-1903
Rev. Samuel Hart, D.D.	1903-
Prof. Frank Austin Gooch	1903-1904
Robert Peel Wakeman	1903-1904
John Prince Elton	1907-1908
Isaac Watts Brooks	1908-
Abram Heaton Robertson	1908-

* Died in Office

THE PEQUOT FIGHT

HON. FREDERICK J. KINGSBURY, LL.D.

See also p/p 51-60 Vol I.
" Papers and addresses of the Society of
Colonial Wars in the State of Connecticut."



HOOKER'S advance company reached Hartford, after a painful journey of six weeks from Massachusetts Bay, late in the fall of 1635. A few settlers had preceded them earlier in the season and located at Windsor, where a colony from Plymouth had settled the year previous, and a lively fight was going on between the two parties in regard to territorial rights. There was also a small colony at Wethersfield. Eighteen months from this time, when the whole river population numbered, it is said, less than 300—although this estimate seems small—fifteen men from the three towns met together in a representative capacity and passed the following vote:

THE FIRST DAY OF MAY, 1637, GEN^lALL CORTE ATT
HARTEFORD.

. . . . It is ordered that there shalbe an offensiue warr ag^t the Pequoitt, and that there shalbe 90 men levied out of the 3 Plantaçons, Harteford, Weathersfeild & Windsor (vizt) out of Harteford 42, Windsor 30, Weathersfeild 18: vnder the Co^mande of Captaine Jo : Mason & in Case of death or sicknes vnder the Co^mand of Rob^te Seely Leif^t, & the 'ldest S^rieant or military officer survivinge, if both these miscary.

The year before (the winter of 1635-36), the people came near starving to death. Many had tried to return to the Bay; some had succeeded, and those who remained were kept alive by provisions supplied by the Indians of the neighborhood, who were their firm friends. In fact, the settlers on the Connecticut came there by invitation of these River Indians, who seemed to have maintained

and lived up to their professions of friendship as well as any people ever did.

The Pequots were their common enemies. The River Indians having abundance of the best of land, and a broad river to fish in, and being very comfortably fixed, were naturally conservative in their politics, and greatly desired to be let alone to enjoy their possessions. Whether the Pequots were covetous of their lands, or whether they enjoyed fighting for the fun of it, or a little of both, does not so clearly appear; but whatever the motive was, one thing is certain; they rendered life a burden to those River Indians. The Pequots were a truculent race. They had come from nobody knows where; it is generally understood, however, from the State of New York. They were immigrants, and they "wanted the earth." Sassacus was their "boss" or chief sachem, and there were twenty-six minor or deputy sachems, each of whom claimed his full share of the boodle under the threat of "breaking things" if he did not get it, which threat was sometimes carried out, as will appear in the sequel. Uncas was, or it is more proper to say, had been, one of these minor sachems; but he had "bolted" sometime before, thinking, perhaps, that he was a bigger man than old Sassacus himself, and he and his band, who were the Mohegan band, had set up for themselves. Uncas was evidently an Indian with commercial views, and he thought if he could sell out his interest to the English, or combine with them on the coöperative plan, they could make things very lively for Sassacus. There had been no commission to run the lines; but, roughly speaking, the Pequots occupied about one-

third of the eastern end of the State, and made forays both ways, as suited their convenience. Their capital, so to speak, was in the present town of Groton, which lies between the Thames and Mystic rivers, and here they had two great forts or fortified towns, where large numbers of them assembled and held "high jinks" during the winter months, feasting, carousing, fighting, love-making, howling, shouting and singing after the most approved Indian fashion. Undoubtedly "there was a sound of revelry by night," for some of Captain Mason's men got near enough to hear it on the night before the attack. In these two towns Sassacus had somewhere from 500 to 1,000 fighting men. There was no census commission, and estimates vary. It is a very poor time to count Indians, when they are coming at you with tomahawks and bows and arrows. Undoubtedly they seemed at times extremely numerous to Mason's men.

All this last year the Pequots had been growing ugly. They had come over to the great river, the Connecticut, and killed men while working in the field. Some of them they had tortured. They had carried off women and children. John Winthrop, Jr., had built a little fort near the mouth of the Connecticut and left Lion Gardiner in command. The Indians had harried him, so that he could hardly let a man go out of the range of the fort. And, perhaps, worse than all the rest, they had openly and boldly insulted the English, had dared them to fight, and had made light of them and their guns and all their belongings. Puritan human nature wasn't of the sort to stand this long.

It is true that the Pequot historians, whose works were unfortunately all burned in their wigwams, might have told a somewhat different story. Stanton, the interpreter, is reported to have said to them in the interview at Saybrook fort: "We don't know one Indian from another." Doubtless this was true, and it may account for a good deal of trouble. If one Indian did any mischief, the first Indian that was caught suffered for it, though he knew nothing whatever about the mischief or its perpetrator. An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, a life for a life—that was the theory on which they acted, and the Indians on their side were hardly more discriminating.

Some of the Block Island Indians killed one John Oldham. His friend John Gallup caught them at it and killed about a dozen of them; but, not satisfied with this, the Governor of Massachusetts sent Captain Endicott with a force to ravage the island, kill the males and bring off the women and children. Then he went over to the mainland and did a good deal of mischief there. All these things produced unpleasant feeling. Some of the Indians engaged in the mischief at Block Island were said not to be Pequots, but Narragansetts or Nehantics; however, the white men did not know one Indian from another. Each tribe was always ready to lay any mischief done to another tribe; but they were also ready to divide plunder with anybody who had any, and to do their best to protect wrongdoers of any tribe from the whites. And so, after all, for practical purposes, perhaps, Stanton's rule was about as good as any. We do not understand the ethics of a barbarous people. We cannot get hold of their stand-

point. Perhaps we should not think much of it if we did. A good deal of fine writing has been displayed on this question, and much of it has been pleasant to read by the side of a comfortable fire, and we have felt quite sweet and affectionate for these Indians whom Captain Mason burnt, and have thought how very disagreeable it must have been. I presume, however, the people who were at the siege of Lucknow, or with Gordon in the Soudan, were better equipped with data for an opinion than most of us. However, to cut a long story short, the question with these English on the Connecticut was reduced to the simplest terms. It was this: Which would you rather do—kill the Indians or have them kill you? And on this subject they hadn't the slightest doubt.

Nevertheless, it was a fearful undertaking. Half the able-bodied men of a colony in the wilderness, eighteen months after its settlement, start out to attack an enemy ten times their number, fortified in a position difficult of access and unknown as to its locality, but situated in what was to them a trackless wilderness and to their enemy familiar ground.

It was on May 1st that the vote was passed, and on the 10th the little army started—ninety English and Uncas with seventy Mohegans. All sorts of questions rise to the mind in this connection; such as, where did the Indians board while they were getting ready to start? Where were they just before that? Certainly not living in Hartford. The more we think of it, the more we feel how little we know of the detail of life in that sturdy little republic. What a ten days that must have been! They

had three vessels to prepare—a pink, a pinnace and a shallop. Webster says a pink is a vessel with a very narrow stern; a pinnace is a small vessel propelled by sails or oars, and formerly employed as a tender; and a shallop, he says, is a boat, and suggests that we compare sloop; but under “sloop” he says, “Cf. shallop.” The authority is good, but the information is scanty. It is evident that they were not attractive craft with which to weather Point Judith, in company with seventy seasick Indians. Then they had to arrange their affairs for leaving, perhaps never to return—their wills to make, their wardrobe to get in order. How many tears and prayers went with the stitches that were put into those soldiers’ clothes! And then the parting! But at last they are off. May 10th they start down the river. But the water is very low. They run aground. The dredging boats were not out that spring. They make slow progress, and finally the Indians say they would prefer to get out and walk. This they were allowed to do; and instead of running away, as perhaps Mason thought they would, they turned up at Saybrook all right, having had one fight on the road, killed seven Indians and caught and tortured to death one Indian spy. They also brought with them Captain Underhill, who seems at that time to have been attached to the Saybrook fort, whom they had met somewhere on the road, who vouched for their report of the fight and the seven dead Indians, and who seemed so pleased with the whole prospect that he offered to accompany the expedition with nineteen men, if Gardiner, the commandant of the fort, was willing. Gardiner consented. And now

comes one of the most remarkable things, to my mind, in the whole story. Having received this reinforcement, Mason sent back twenty of his own men to defend the river towns during his absence. Doubtless they needed it badly enough; but to do it under the circumstances was an act of high heroism.

They had spent five days in getting down the river. It was now May 15th. War was declared on the 1st. An Indian runner could go easily from Hartford to Sassacus' headquarters in two days. Spies were plenty. Sassacus would know long since of their coming, and be prepared to meet them. Two captive girls who had been rescued from the Pequots, and were now at the fort, informed them that the Pequots had sixteen guns, and knew how to use them. Here was a quandary. Mason's instructions had been to land at Pequot Harbor (Thames River), and proceed from there. Under the circumstances he saw that this was folly. But his councilors in the expedition feared the home government. They thought it was "theirs to do or die, and never ask the reason why." But Mason was equal to the occasion. He resolved to appeal to a higher power. Rev. Samuel Stone, brave as the bravest, had accompanied the expedition as chaplain. Mason laid the case before him with arguments, and asked him to submit it to the Lord.

Mr. Stone did so over night, and in the morning reported to Mason that the Lord agreed with *him*, or words to that effect, and thereupon the whole company submitted; and there being no telegraph or telephone to Hartford, Mason rested easy in his mind.

Straight on by Pequot Harbor they sailed, and Sassacus saw them and laughed. He thought they were afraid. Who heard him laugh, or how they knew what he thought, I have not ventured to inquire, but I think Captain Mason tells the story, and even at this day I would prefer not to have any dispute with him. Historians in those times were expected to know a great deal. It would seem as if Sassacus was a case of "whom the gods intend to destroy they first make mad."

Where he thought those people were going with pinnace, pink and shallop it is hard to imagine. The fleet rounded Point Judith and went up the bay to some convenient point* where they landed as soon as they could, but although they reached there Saturday, May 20th, it was Tuesday, the 23d, before they landed, they having in the meantime kept Sunday in a proper manner. They had Indians with them who knew something of the country, and the very first night they went some miles into the interior, to the fort of Miantinomoh, chief sachem of the Narragansetts. He was a wily savage. He received them kindly, and wished them well, but thought they had underestimated the Pequot strength. During the night a runner came informing them that Captain Patrick was at Providence with a small body of men from the Bay to assist them, and asking them to wait. So Patrick knew where they were, and his runner came straight to them.

* NOTE.—Coffin, in his recent child's history says they landed west of Point Judith, but Mason says they went into the bay, and Palfrey says they landed at the foot of Tower Hill. This is a few miles above Narragansett Pier. Underhill wrote an account of the expedition which I have not seen. Perhaps Palfrey follows him.

What *was* the matter with Sassacus? Mason thought time was worth more than men—if he had other thoughts he kept them to himself—and pushed on, going twenty miles on the 24th to where there was another Narragansett or Nehantic fort. These Indians would not let them in, so Mason returned the compliment by putting a guard around the fort so that none of them could get out, and went to sleep. On the morning of the 25th they were joined by 200 Narragansetts whom Miantinomoh had sent after them, having evidently come to the conclusion that they meant business. Then the Nehantics, those people who would not let them into the fort, all wanted to go, too, and so Mason started off with 500 Indians to take care of. That day was hot, and they suffered much from hunger. They marched twelve miles to a ford in the Pawcatuck, the river that separates Rhode Island from Connecticut, showing that their route must have been inland to avoid the estuaries of the tidal rivers. After resting here awhile they pushed on, having now learned for the first time that there were two Pequot forts, which shows how little they really knew of the country into which they were going. Having, as they thought, very nearly reached the nearest fort, they put out their pickets and got a few hours' rest. Two hours before daylight on the morning of Friday, the 26th, they made their attack.

Meantime, the Narragansett Indians had lost their interest. Mason sent word to them not to run away, but to stand as far off as they pleased and see whether Englishmen would fight. The Indians in the fort, who had been having a good time, were in deep sleep. A dog barked,

there was a shout, and the English were upon them. The fort was full of Indians; they were scurrying and fighting and hiding everywhere. Mason had meant to drive them out and save the plunder, but there were more than seventy wigwams in the fort, and the risk with these hiding-places was too great; so, very reluctantly—not on account of the Indians but on account of the plunder—with his own hand he applied the torch, and in a few minutes the village was in flames. The Indians who came out were killed, and those who stayed in were burned. Some say 300 and some 700 thus met their death. There were hair-breadth escapes in plenty; many, of course, known to nobody; but Mason has preserved the record where one Indian had drawn his arrow upon him to full head, when Sergeant Davis opportunely clipped the bow-string and then, probably, clipped the Indian.* Two of the English were killed and twenty wounded.

* NOTE.—This statement is in Dr. Benjamin Trumbull's *History of Connecticut*, and was taken by him from Church's *History of the Indian Wars*, but a copy of this paper having fallen into the hands of Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden of Wilkesbarre, Pa., he wrote to me saying that there was a tradition in their family that it was not Sergeant Davis but their ancestor, William Hayden, who cut the bow-string. Dr. Stiles in his *History of Windsor*, 2d edition, Vol. II, page 369, says: "William Hayden first appears at Hartford, where he received land in the first distribution of 1639, served under Captain Mason (whose life he saved) at the Pequot fight in 1637, for which he was granted a lot in the Soldiers' field at Hartford to which the Court, after his death, added fifty acres more for his heirs." In the *History of Hartford County*, Vol. I, page 242, it is said of him that he served in the Pequot war and that in 1671 land was granted to his heirs for his services. I find no mention of any grant to him in his lifetime nor of any special service. Referring to Mason's own account of the fight, he says, after mentioning by name a number of persons who had very narrow escapes: "Many such providences happened; some respecting myself; but since there is none to witness them, I shall forbear to mention them." The

They had achieved a wonderful victory, but now they were in a very tight place. The vessels had been sent around to Pequot Harbor to meet them, but Sassacus, now fully aroused and wild with anger, having a larger force than the one just destroyed, came down upon them. The English force was now less than seventy, with twenty wounded men to carry and care for. But Uncas and his Mohegans remained faithful. They carried the wounded men, leaving the English free to fight. Underhill, the valiant volunteer, commanded the rear guard with great ability; luckily the powder held out, and after a few fruitless attacks the Pequots gave up the pursuit and retired

statement about Davis and the bow-string first appears in print in Church's *Indian Wars*. Drake, in his edition, Vol. II, page 267, note, says: "This is the author's interpolation; Mason does not refer to it in his history, though he mentions Sergeant Davis." Church, in his preface, says: "I shall in the last place give this following account thereof left either under the hands of such as Commander-in-Chief in that action or from the mouths of some faithful witnesses that were not only then present but personally concerned and engaged in that service."

Drake adds (note to page 6, Vol. II): "As the author was born fifteen years before the Pequot war, he was contemporary with all the actors in it; and was doubtless personally acquainted with Endicott, Trask, Underhill, Houghton, Patrick, Davenport, etc., as with the Connecticut Captains. It is therefore a contemporaneous history and holds a place of first importance with the personal narratives of Mason, Underhill, Gardiner and Vincent. As to the letters concerning the war, few are extant."

Family traditions, or traditions of any kind, are to be considered as suggestions rather than as dependable evidence. They are very liable to become distorted. Indeed statements of eye-witnesses and participants are to be received with some caution. I myself remember an old man who had been a captain in the French and Indian wars, and who in his later years always said that he took a boat-load of troops down the Falls of Niagara. I do not think any one ever questioned the statement in his presence, and I presume some of his children believed it. He doubtless did go down some rather tough rapids somewhere,—and it was simply a mistake in the name.

F. J. K.

to tear their hair and indulge in whatever answered the Indians for profane language, and the English went on safely to their boats. Poor old Sassacus had a hard time. His sachems told him that he had not lived up to his party platform, and threatened to kill him then and there; but he had a few friends who prevented this; still the Pequot power was broken; they could not rally—and a little later they burnt their remaining fort and left for New York and the West. Sassacus finally reached there, but his old friends cut off his head and sent his scalp to Hartford; some authorities say Boston.

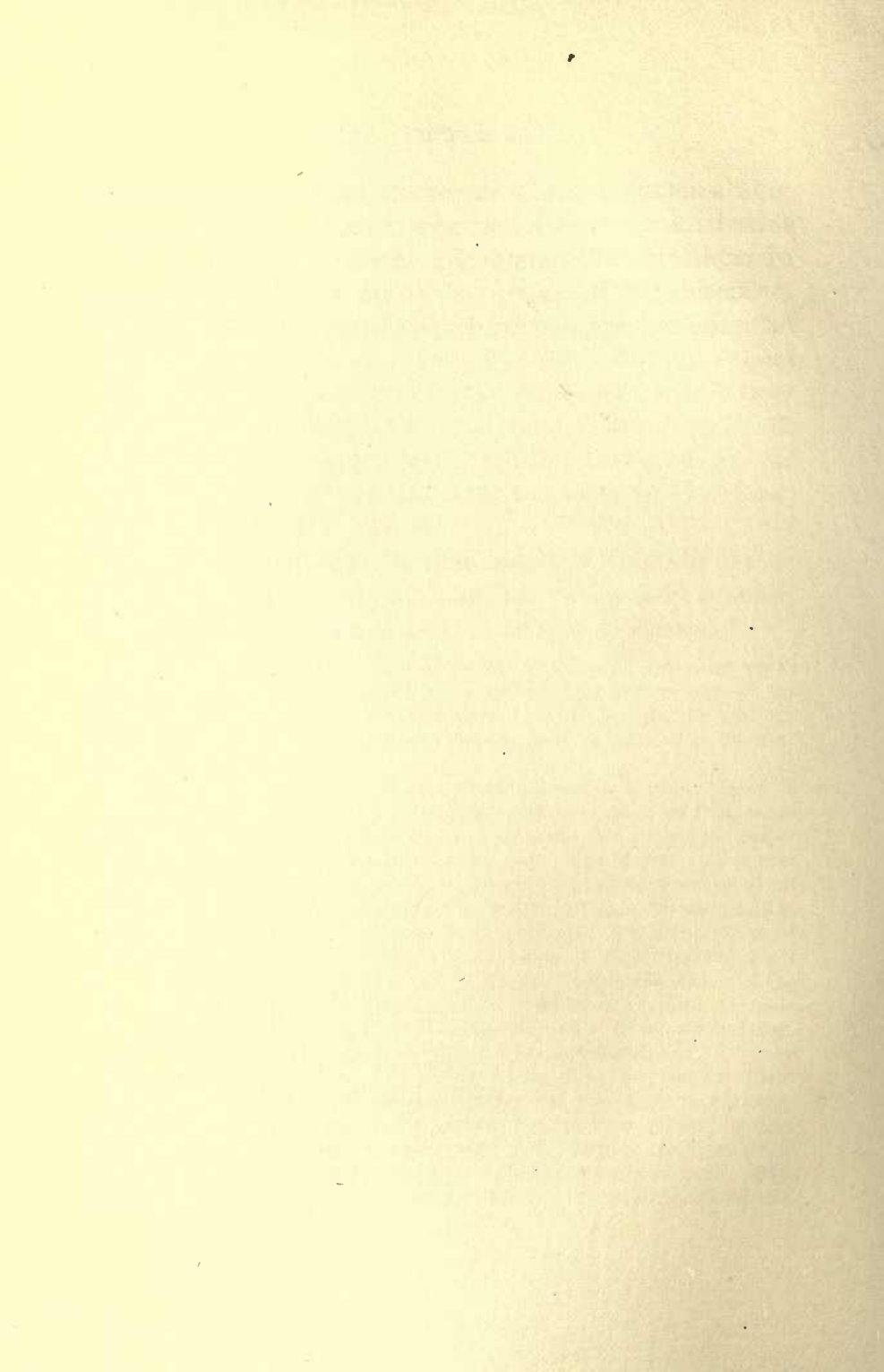
In three weeks from the time they left, Captain Mason and his men were back in Hartford. They held a public thanksgiving, and Mason was made Major-General.*

* NOTE.—He is frequently spoken of as Major-General in historical works of high character, but on a careful examination of the printed copy of the Colonial records of the State of Connecticut, I do not find that he held any legal title beyond that of Captain until twenty years or more after the time referred to.

In an order passed by the General Court September 8, 1650, Mason is called Captain. His name does not appear again until May 18, 1664, when he is mentioned in the record among the magistrates just chosen as "Major Mason." Thereafter he is usually spoken of as "The Major." It is true that he was, soon after the Pequot fight, formally placed in command of all the troops of the colony—"equivalent," as one writer says, "to the position of Major-General." Daniel Denison, of Ipswich, who held this position in the colony of Massachusetts, had the formal title of Major-General given him. Mason was the general captain if not the Captain-General, and the title of Captain-General, for some inscrutable reason, is a higher one than Major-General. So is the title of Lieutenant-General. Some one has suggested that General-Major was equivalent to Major-General, but, as I have said, Mason was not Major till twenty years after the Pequot affair. Another suggestion, that a Connecticut Major was equivalent to a Massachusetts Major-General, falls to the ground for the same reason; besides being liable to be otherwise misunderstood. The truth is, the Connecticut people were never fond of titles, and were very economical in their use. With them the thing counted for more than the name; and the *thing* Mason had.

It is not strange that they thought the Lord had fought their battles, nor is it easy even now to find a better way of explaining this wonderful success.

Considering its importance to the settlers, to the colony or to the country, few battles in history take higher rank.



CAPTAIN JOHN MASON AND THE MEMORABLE
EXPEDITION AGAINST THE PEQUOTS
IN 1637

REV. JAMES GOODWIN



THE Englishman Bagehot has said that the "Monotonous periods of history have at least this interest,—they prepared men for times which were not monotonous." This remark has been applied by another Englishman, Doyle, to the colonial period of our own history here in New England. In his view the first hundred years after the settlement of the Puritan colonies had but little of the romantic or the picturesque, little of the stirring or the impressive, among the events which go to make up their history. By comparison with the history of Europe during those same years, the Englishman saw few happenings of note. The great figures, the dramatic scenes, the pomp and pageantry of court and camp, the splendor and the woe of European story, seem to him to dwarf utterly the little clusters of farmers lost in the forests of the New World. And yet, to the seeing eye, the forces at work in those remote communities are of an intense interest. The hope of the future is there. And, by comparison, the glories of the crumbling systems of the Old World are interesting only as evidences of the *passing* of the outworn and imperfect, whose places were to be filled by new truths, new liberties, new hopes, in short a new ideal of civilization. And this new ideal was born and nourished up during those same years of uneventful monotony. Yet, too, to the lover of New England the monotony is only on the surface, even if it exist at all. In the events, the men and women, of our early history,

there is plenty of incident and interest, plenty, if one knows how to look for it, of the dramatic and the picturesque. The forces which, by and by, are to renovate the earth, are all at work, and giving clear evidence of their vitality and their efficiency.

That which is of *especial interest* is the *human element*, in its remarkable fineness of quality, its breadth of vision, its power of initiative, and its habit of going directly to the heart of things. The truth is, as we all more or less perfectly recognize, the founders of New England were a picked body physically, mentally, morally. They were in some important respects beyond their own times. They were, without doubt, the most remarkable company of colonists the world has ever seen.

I want, this evening, to call your attention to one of our own early Connecticut leaders, a man to whom, possibly less attention has been paid than he deserves,—John Mason, colonial soldier,—the conqueror of the Pequods,—by whose energy and genius the second great epoch of New England colonial history was successfully launched. John Mason came to New England in 1629. He is called “Captain” in the records. He was certainly a soldier and, like Miles Standish, had seen service in the Low Countries, admirably fitting him for the exigencies of colonial life. He settled finally in Windsor in Connecticut, and it is as a *Connecticut* soldier that he won the victory which has made his name memorable.

The war against the Pequods marks an epoch in our history of no small importance. In 1637 it became clear that a life and death struggle was impending between the

English settlers and the natives in southern New England. In February of that year several men were killed by the Pequods, the most powerful and warlike of the tribes of the region. This was followed by further outrages. In April, Wethersfield was raided, six men killed, and three women and two girls taken captive and carried off. It was thought that a general rising of all the native tribes would speedily take place. There was great danger of a massacre of all the whites and the destruction of the colonies. At a court, holden at Hartford on the first of May, 1637, it was ordered, "There shalbee an offensiue warr agt the Pequott." Hartford was called upon for forty-two men, Windsor for thirty, and Wethersfield for eighteen; Captain John Mason took command. The little force was embarked in "one Pink, one Pinnace, and one Shallop." Mr. Stone, teacher of the Hartford Church, went with them as chaplain. The Rev. Mr. Hooker, the pastor, addressed the men before starting, and encouraged them by declaring, "that the Pequots should be bread for them." Then they started on their adventurous voyage down the river. Let us glance for a moment at the situation. What was the nature of the military problem before Mason and his men? There were five tribes between Plymouth and the Connecticut River, beside the Pokanoket tribe near Narragansett Bay. The most formidable of these tribes was that of the Pequods,—the name is variously spelled,—whose general region was the country bounded by the Connecticut and Mystic Rivers, on the west and east, by the Sound on the south, and by dense forest on the north, altogether thirty-five

miles east and west, by sixty miles north and south. There were two chief villages. One, the more important of the two, was on the Mystic, about four miles from the Sound. The Pequods had evidently prepared for a decisive struggle. They had sent many of the wives and children of their chief men over the Sound to Long Island for safety. They had fortified their principal village with great care and a good deal of ingenuity. It was walled around with tree-trunks set on end so as to form a strong stockade, impenetrable to bullets. Two narrow openings on opposite sides, scarcely wide enough for a man to squeeze himself through, served for ingress and egress. Within were crowded the flimsy wigwams. Here were gathered some seven hundred warriors under Sassacus, chief of the tribe.

The attitude of the Pequods was one of the results of the colonization of the Connecticut valley. The English were brought into close contact with the largest and most powerful tribe in southern New England. Just previous to this period there was trouble between the whites and the Narragansetts, whose territory lay just east of that of the Pequods. An expedition under John Endicott destroyed their corn and generally damaged their possessions, but accomplished nothing. Finally the good and humane Roger Williams, a man whose spirit seems far removed from that of that hard and merciless age, conciliated the Narragansetts and they made an alliance with the English. But the Pequods remained hostile. Without doubt they meditated the destruction of at least the Connecticut colonies. It was a critical moment in the

history of New England. To oppose the preparations of the Pequods were the three little colonies of Windsor, Hartford and Wethersfield, and, at the mouth of the river, the fort, under Gardiner, at Saybrook. Massachusetts was indifferent. The only topic which occupied the minds of all in that colony was "Did the ministry preach a covenant of grace; or a covenant of works?" So absorbed were they, that they seem to have been deaf to all appeals for aid from Connecticut. Finally, however, early in 1637, they did send twenty men to reinforce the garrison at Saybrook. "While Plymouth and Massachusetts were wrangling over questions of theology, the men of Connecticut were up and doing," so writes the English historian Doyle. For this reason the Connecticut forces had a problem to face sufficient to test both their military ability and their courage to the utmost. If the Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay colonies would have coöperated with those of the Connecticut, the matter would have been much simplified. A simultaneous attack might have been made upon the Pequods upon three sides,—on the northeast, northwest and south, effectually enclosing the tribe. But this was now out of the question. The authorities at Hartford endeavored to limit Mason and his men to what seemed, at that distance, the only feasible plan,—they were to go down the River to Saybrook, secure reinforcements from the garrison, and then sail on to the mouth of the Pequod River. There they were to disembark and march inland against the enemy. Upon the arrival of the little fleet at Saybrook a delay occurred which was occasioned by Gardiner's unwillingness to spare any

of his garrison to strengthen the expedition. At last he agreed to substitute twenty of his men for twenty of the least fit of Mason's men.

It seemed a desperate undertaking. The little army, much hindered by the provisions and armor with which they were burdened, were to capture a strong fort garrisoned by seven hundred warriors, eager and ready for war. It was at this moment that Mason's genius becomes especially apparent. He quieted all murmurs. He boldly discarded the crude plan of campaign furnished by the church members at Hartford; and he decided to attack the enemy on the lines of the most approved military science, by taking them in the flank, where he was not expected. Our own century has yielded no better method of making war upon a savage, or half-civilized foe. It is, I believe, a recognized principle of military science, that savages usually await a frontal attack, but cannot stand under a flank movement. This was the plan:—to land further up the coast, approach the fort by a flank movement from the east, and north, and cut the savages off from the forest in their rear, driving them toward the Sound and the Connecticut River. He would have the further advantage of landing at a point where he was wholly unexpected. His men did not share their leader's confidence, they were opposed to his soldier's plan. To remove their opposition Mason had recourse to an expedient which adds lustre to his genius for dealing with men.

He went to Chaplain Stone and desired him that night to "commend their Case and Difficultyes before the Lord."

The chaplain, accordingly, having spent the night in prayer, "arrived," as Dr. Walker says in his History of the First Church of Hartford, "at the same view of the edible character of the Pequods which Mr. Hooker had entertained before the expedition left Hartford." He informed Captain Mason, that "though formerly he had been against sailing to *Narragansett* and landing there, yet now he was fully satisfied to attend to it." This stopped the mouths of the gainsayers, and "they agreed all with one accord to go on."

They sailed along the coast, and landed on May 23rd, in the *Narragansett* country, well to the east of the Pequods. At this moment Plymouth and Massachusetts awoke from their theological discussions and determined to act. Plymouth sent fifty men, and the northern colony two hundred, with orders to hurry on and reinforce Mason's command. Forty of this new force hastened to give immediate aid to Captain Mason, but the stout-hearted Connecticut soldier would not wait for them, rightly fearing to lose the advantage of his flank movement. He was joined by two hundred *Narragansetts* and made one day's march westward to *Niantic*. He seems to have considered dividing his command in order to attack the two Pequot villages simultaneously, but his soldierly instinct led him to concentrate his whole force on their principal fort on the *Mystic*. His plans had been entirely successful. The Pequods, who had expected a landing near their fort, had seen the flotilla sail by them to the eastward, with exultation. They concluded that the English did not dare to attack them. Mason set about the work before him

methodically. They had arrived on Saturday evening at Narragansett. They kept Sabbath next day on board their vessels; and, owing to a heavy wind, did not actually land until Tuesday at sunset. It was not until Thursday at eight of the clock that in strict silence the march began. The heat was great, the men weighted with their armor and provisions, the going hard. The Narragansetts dropped to the rear, their courage oozing out. That night they camped about two miles from the Pequod fort.

Their outposts heard the Indians chanting in their peculiar fashion the cowardice and general inefficiency of the English. Indeed they were celebrating the supposed failure of the expedition against them. Before daylight Mason was moving. The column marched silently up to the fort. They found the Pequods, as Captain Mason himself says, "in a dead, and, as it proved to be, their last sleep." The alarm was given, but the English were at the two entrances of the fort in a moment. It was all over in a short time. The Indians made a feeble and ineffectual attempt at defence. Mason himself dashed a firebrand into their flimsy, inflammable wigwams. In a few minutes the fort was a sea of flame in which the dazed, half-awakened Pequods were burned alive. Those that tried to escape were shot down, or driven back into the flames.

Some seven hundred were believed to have perished. Not fifteen, all told, were left alive. The blow was complete. It happened that one hundred and fifty men had been sent but a little while before from the other Pequod fort. These perished, too, in the destruction. The victors

had two men killed and about twenty wounded. Their plight was a hard one, for the surgeon had remained behind with the flotilla at Narragansett. Moreover, their provisions were nearly exhausted. Matters were further complicated by the approach of the Pequods from the other fort. When they saw the destruction which had been wrought, their grief and amazement knew no bounds. They attacked the English, but were quickly driven off. At this juncture the little fleet came sailing into the Pequot River, and rest and refreshment at last were within reach. It is hardly necessary to say more. The unfortunate Pequods fled westward, only to be pursued and dispersed. They found no welcome anywhere, but were slaughtered wherever they were by Indians friendly to the English. Their scalps were brought in for months. The tribe was literally annihilated.

It was an epoch in the history of Connecticut which deserves more than passing notice. All danger from the local tribes was practically over, with Mason's memorable campaign, for nearly forty years. When, in 1675, the greatest of all conflicts with the natives of New England, King Philip's War, broke out, the colonies were strong, united, well-prepared, and the issue was never really in doubt. And this condition they owed to the terror inspired by Mason's memorable campaign. Of him, the Rev. Thomas Prince of Boston writes, nearly one hundred years after the event I have described, "Two brave Englishmen bred to arms in the Dutch Netherlands, viz.—Captain Miles Standish of Plymouth, and Captain John Mason of Connecticut: Gentlemen of tried valour, Mili-

tary Skill and Conduct, great Activity and warm Zeal for that noble Cause of Pure Scriptural Religion, and Religious Liberty, which were the chief original Design and Interest of the Fathers of these Plantations; and who were acted with such eminent Degrees of Faith and Piety as excited them to the most daring Enterprizes in the Cause of God and of his People, and went a great way to their wonderful Successes. . . . Both" were "the Instrumental Saviours of their Country in the most critical Conjunctions: And as we quietly enjoy the Fruits of their extraordinary Diligence and Valour, both the present and future Generations will forever be obliged to revere their Memory."

*Anastion of Haldridge Ozo Callins
who served in the Pequot War.*

Deacon Stephen Hart

John Plim

John Bronson.

JOHN PLUMB.

The Plumbs were Normans. The first of the name is found on the "Great Roll of Normandy" in 1180, during the reign of Henry II of England and in 1195, during the reign of Richard I.

They bore the following arms:

ARMS:

Ermine, a bend vair, or and gules, cotised vert:

CREST:

Out of a ducal coronet, or, a plume of ostrich feathers, argent:

MOTTO:

Ardua vinco.

John Plumb was born on his father's estate at Great Yeldham, Essex County, England, in 1594. He was the second son of Robert and Grace Plumb of Ridgewell Hall, Ridgewell, Essex County, England, where he lived as late as 1634, and where all his children were born except one daughter, Dorcas.

He sold the estate in England, inherited from his father, and came to Watertown—now Wethersfield, Connecticut, in 1635. He was a member of the General Court from Wethersfield, from March 8, 1636, until 1642, and he held many other offices of public trust. "Prior to January, 1639, when the fundamental articles of government of the Colony were formed, John Plumb had been added to the list of members of the upper Section called Magistrates, which had powers over life, liberty, and property."

WILLIAM HOUGH.

He was born in West Chester, Cheshire, England, the son of Edward Hough. He first appears in the town records of New London in 1650, as a member of the Congregation of Rev. Mr. Blinman, with whose party he came to New England. On October 28, 1645, at Gloucester, Massachusetts, he married Sarah, daughter of Hugh Calkin.

He was Sergeant of the first Military Company of New London. He was a volunteer in King Philip's War, the order for his enrollment being number 136. He was appointed one of a committee of seven to attend to the fortification of New London and of the six points fortified he had personal supervision. For his services he was granted land in the "Cedar Swamp Lots" in Narragansett Township, now Voluntown, Connecticut, granted to the English Volunteers by the General Court of Connecticut.

The restrictions of the Connecticut grant to "English" volunteers shut out the Indians who formed a large contingent of the forces, and also the white men who were pressed into the service. He died, 1683.

HOLDRIDGE OZRO COLLINS.

HULL, GEORGE

1590-1659

ARMS:

Sable—a chevron ermine between three talbots' heads erased argent.

tary Skill and Conduct, great Activity and warm Zeal for that noble Cause of Pure Scriptural Religion, and Religious Liberty, which were the chief original Design and Interest of the Fathers of these Plantations; and who were acted with such eminent Degrees of Faith and Piety as excited them to the most daring Enterprizes in the Cause of God and of his People, and went a great way to their wonderful Successes. . . . Both" were "the Instrumental Saviours of their Country in the most critical Conjunctions: And as we quietly enjoy the Fruits of their extraordinary Diligence and Valour, both the present and future Generations will forever be obliged to revere their Memory."

DEACON STEPHEN HART.

ARMS:

Gules, a bend between three fleurs-de-lis, argent:

CREST:

A castle triple towered, thereon a flaming heart, proper:

MOTTO:

Cœur fidele.

He was born in Braintree, Essex County, England, in 1605, whence he came to Massachusetts Bay in 1632, with the Company that settled Braintree, Massachusetts. He was one of the first settlers of Cambridge, and was admitted a Freeman in 1634. He was deacon of the Original Church formed by Rev. Thomas Hooker. He was one of the twelve explorers of the Connecticut Valley, known as the "Adventurers," in 1635, and one of the company of Hooker which went to Hartford in July, 1636, of which he was one of the original proprietors, his home lot being on what is now Front street, near the river.

He was one of the soldiers from Hartford in the command of Captain John Mason which embarked May 10, 1637, to engage in the Pequot War. He served through that campaign and participated in the battle of May 25. He was one of the eighty-four proprietors of Farmington in 1672, and he was Deputy from Farmington to the General Court of Connecticut for fifteen sessions from May, 1647, to 1655, and once in 1660. He was one of the "Seven Pillars" and the first deacon of the Farmington church. He died in 1683.

HOLDRIDGE OZRO COLLINS.

JOHN PLUMB.

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They bore the following arms:

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Ermine, a bend vair, or and gules, cotised vert:

CREST:

Out of a ducal coronet, or, a plume of ostrich feathers, argent:

MOTTO:

Ardua vinco.

John Plumb was born on his father's estate at Great Yeldham, Essex County, England, in 1594. He was the second son of Robert and Grace Plumb of Ridgewell Hall, Ridgewell, Essex County, England, where he lived as late as 1634, and where all his children were born except one daughter, Dorcas.

He sold the estate in England, inherited from his father, and came to Watertown—now Wethersfield, Connecticut, in 1635. He was a member of the General Court from Wethersfield, from March 8, 1636, until 1642, and he held many other offices of public trust. "Prior to January, 1639, when the fundamental articles of government of the Colony were formed, John Plumb had been added to the list of members of the upper Section called Magistrates, which had powers over life, liberty and property such as no body of officers since their day, has been entrusted with."

He was one of the soldiers from Wethersfield, in Captain John Mason's command during the Pequot War and he fought in the battle of May 26, 1637. He owned the ship that carried Mason's command around from the mouth of the Connecticut river to the Narragansett. His home, in Wethersfield, was upon the land now occupied by the Connecticut State Penitentiary. In 1644 he moved to Branford, where he died, 1648.

His oldest child was Robert Plumb, who married Mary, daughter of Sylvester Baldwin and Sarah Bryan, his wife.

Sylvester Baldwin was the great-grandson of Richard Baldwin of the Parish of Aston Clinton, Buckinghamshire, whose will was dated 16, January, 6 Edward VI (1552-3). Sylvester died at sea June 21, 1638, while on his way to America. He bore the Arms, Crest and Motto described as follow:

ARMS:

Argent, a chevron, ermine, between three hazel sprigs, vert.

CREST:

A squirrel, sejeant, or, holding a hazel sprig, vert.

MOTTO:

Vim, vi repello.

The second child of Robert Plumb and Mary Baldwin, was John Plumb, born August 12, 1646, who married Elizabeth, daughter of John Norton, whose arms and crest are described as follow:

ARMS:

Gules, a fret, argent; a bend, vair over all.

CREST:

A griffin, sejeant, proper, winged gules, beak and fore legs or.

HOLDRIDGE OZRO COLLINS,

PITKIN, WILLIAM

1636-1694

He was born in London, England. From 1675 to 1690, he was a Deputy to the General Court of Connecticut: Attorney General in 1664: Treasurer in 1676: Assistant from 1690 to 1694. In 1678, he was Commissioner from Connecticut to the United Colonies.

WILLIAM NORTHROPE COWLES,
EDWIN TAYLOR POLLOCK.

POMEROY, MEDAD

1638-1716

ARMS:

Or, a lion rampant gules, holding in the dexter paw an apple proper, with a bordure engrailed, sable:

CREST:

A lion rampant, gules, holding an apple as in Arms:

MOTTO:

Virtutis fortuna comes.

He was the son of Eltweed Pomeroy, born at Beaminster, England, who emigrated to Massachusetts in 1630. Medad was born in Windsor, Connecticut, and he died in Northampton, Massachusetts. He was Deputy to the General Court from Northampton, 1677, 1683-1684, 1686, 1690 and 1692, and he served in the "Falls Fight," May 19, 1676, King Philip's War.

ARTHUR BURNETT BENTON.

PRATT, JOHN

1607-1654

He was a son of Rev. William Pratt of Stevenage, Hertfordshire, England, where he was born. It is believed that he came to America, with Rev. Thomas Hooker, in 1632. In 1634, he was of Cambridge, Massachusetts, when he became a freeman. In 1636, he removed to Connecticut and became one of the founders of Hartford. There he was an honored and influential citizen, the Town records showing that he served in many capacities as an official, etc.

In 1639 and later, he represented Hartford as a Deputy to the General Court of Connecticut.

ORRA EUGENE MONNETTE.

PRATT, DANIEL

1639-1691

A descendant of the Pratts of Stevenage, Hertfordshire, England, he was born in Hartford, Connecticut, and was an active and influential citizen there until his death. In 1657-8, by commission of the General Court, he was appointed a Trooper in the First Connecticut Cavalry under the Command of Major John Mason.

ORRA EUGENE MONNETTE.

PRENCE, THOMAS

1600-1673

In 1634, 1638 and 1657, he was Governor of Plymouth Colony, and Assistant in 1635: Member of the Council of Wars and he served against the Pequot Indians in 1637. In 1645, he was a Commissioner from Plymouth for the United Colonies.

FREDERICK LEONARD BROWN.

THE GREAT SWAMP FIGHT

HON. JOHN HOYT PERRY

JOHN BRONSON.

He was one of the Company of Rev. Thomas Hooker which went to Hartford in 1636 from Cambridge, Massachusetts. He was one of the soldiers from Hartford, in the command of Captain John Mason in the Pequot War, and he participated in the great fight of May 26, 1637. In 1640, he lived upon the lot in Hartford, given him for services in the Pequot War. In 1641 he moved to Tunxis, or Farmington, and upon the organization of the Farmington church, October 13, 1652, he was one of the "Seven Pillars." In May, 1651, and at subsequent sessions, he was Deputy from Farmington to the General Court of Massachusetts. He died 1680.

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BUGBEE, JOSEPH

1640-1729

Born in Roxbury, Massachusetts, he was a son of the immigrant, Edward Bugbee (Bigby as the name was used till 1700). The latter came in the ship "Francis" of Ipswich, England, in 1634. Joseph Bugbee in 1675, served as a soldier in King Philip's War, in the company of Captain Daniel Henchman. April 5, 1686, New Roxbury, Connecticut (afterwards Woodstock) was founded by a band of people from Roxbury, Mass. He joined the movement, became a proprietor, town officer and prominent man in Woodstock where he died. His wife was Experience Pitcher, daughter of Andrew, of Dorchester, Mass. and the arms of the latter were:

ARMS:

~~Or, a hand gules, surmounted by a staff.~~
In 1634, 1638 and 1657, he was Governor of Plymouth Colony, and Assistant in 1635: Member of the Council of Wars and he served against the Pequot Indians in 1637. In 1645, he was a Commissioner from Plymouth for the United Colonies.

FREDERICK LEONARD BROWN.

THE GREAT SWAMP FIGHT

HON. JOHN HOYT PERRY



OUR meeting to-day, as always, is determined by the anniversary of an event which is believed to be the first assumption of sovereignty by Connecticut and the declaration of the first war in which as a colony it participated.

The events which thus constitute the *raison d'être* of our Society have never had adequate commemoration until we recently erected a monument on the final battleground of that war in Southport. I have been directed by our Governor to prepare for you a brief account of the manner and location of this closing struggle. My ability to decline having been atrophied by long disuse, I regretfully obey, for while I once professed to right wrongs I never pretended to write history.

I am somewhat reconciled, however, to the labor since the event occurred in my native town and procured its settlement by men whose character long gave to Fairfield a commanding place in the councils of the colony.

Bear with me, therefore, as patiently as you can while I struggle with the unwonted task. The result will be a compilation merely, with no original contribution of any merit by myself.

An Indian band, offshoot from the Six Nations,—then a fully organized aboriginal combine for raising hair and the first great trust and producer of tainted wampum known to American history—leaving the parent tribe on the banks of the Hudson, had slowly fought its way eastward through quiet tribes long resident in upper Connecticut, or lower Massachusetts, until the Connecticut

See also p. 111.

River was crossed, and then turning southerly settled at last upon the Sound. The date was about 1600, the name Pequot or Mohegan, the disposition restless, treacherous and bloodthirsty, the final location from the Connecticut River eastward across the Niantic, Thames, Mystic and Pawcatuck into what is now Rhode Island. It is quite possible that Mohegan was the proper name of the tribe and Pequot, which is said to mean destroyer, merely a *descriptio personarum* by the native Connecticut Indians.

When Hartford, Windsor and Wethersfield were settled in 1635 the Dutch were occasionally somewhat in the way, but the Pequots had to be reckoned with daily. They numbered about 600 fighting men, and knew no other business. The white settlers were a feeble folk. They could neither hunt, fish, nor cultivate their fields nor travel at home or abroad save at the peril of their lives. They must needs keep constant watch in light and darkness and go armed to their daily labors. Before they sat upon the bench in meeting the butt of a musket found the floor. They lay down and rose up in fear and danger. More than thirty citizens had been murdered with accompaniment of torture and mutilation beyond belief when, realizing that the very existence of the Colony was at stake, a Court is summoned to meet at Hartford on Monday, the first of May, 1637.

Roger Ludlow, deputy Governor and the subsequent founder of Fairfield, presided, and Andrew Ward, our most distinguished resident, sat in the Court.

Its action was prompt and resolute, and is thus recorded:

"It is ordered that there shalbe an offensiue warr agt the Pequitt and that there shalbe 90 men levied out of the 3 Plantacons, Harteford, Weathersfeild and Windsor under the comande of Captain Jo'. Mason."

So complete are the features of statehood here that we may fairly assign that date as the proper birthday of Connecticut. In this resolve behold the first act of sovereignty by the infant colony, and therein Fairfield, as will hereafter appear, lay hidden.

Listen to a further item from this historic order pitiful for its confession of youth and weakness:

"It is ordered that Windsor shall pruid 60 bushells of Corne, Harteford 84 bushells, Weathersfield 36 bushells, of this each plantacon to bake in biskett the on half *if by any means they cann*, the rest in ground meale."

Down the river in "one pink, one pinnace, and one shallop" went the little company, 77 in all when the forces met. Sailing eastward to Narragansett Bay they landed, and, after a wearisome and perilous march, in the early morning of May 26th fell upon a band of the savages sleeping in a so-called "fort" on Pequot Hill in Groton, killed the flower of the tribe and burned the fort.

The Colonists returned in triumph to Saybrook and the pall was lifted from the river towns.

I have thus sketched with exceeding brevity the introduction to my task.

The last council of the Pequot Nation was held on the day following the capture of the fort. The survivors from far and near attended. It had been proved to be as impos-

sible for them to resist these grim, fearless, pale-faced, strangers as it was impossible to conceive the notion of surrender for themselves. They came to a Roman resolution. The path of their original entry into Connecticut along the river was now barred by the new English towns. The only open route back to the Hudson lay westward along the Sound.

Burning their villages and crops, they set out upon the desperate venture. Sassacus, the greatest of their chiefs and at the time Grand Sachem, was first, and Mononotto apparently second, in command. Mason with Stoughton and Patrick from Massachusetts took ships at Saybrook to pursue them by the Sound, while the renegade Mohegan Uncas with his followers trailed and harried them along the shore. Roger Ludlow, representing the civil power, accompanied the English. Near Guilford two Pequot Sagamores with a few followers were overtaken. Swimming across a small bay in their flight, they were shot by the Mohegans as they landed. Uncas cut off the heads of the chiefs and lodged them in the branches of an oak near the shore, where they hung for years, giving the place the local name of Sachem's Head. Thus the expedition fared on westward. Of the subsequent events, and especially of the great swamp fight in Southport, I know of but one contemporaneous account and but one by an eyewitness.

Much has been subsequently written on the subject and local traditions many deep overlies the place, but for an account of what really happened we seem to be confined to the two narratives above referred to. This is unfortunate, for they are brief, the situation lends itself to

romance, the local imagination is impatient of restraint, and Southport pride is creative and boundless.

The contemporaneous account is found in a letter from Gov. John Winthrop to William Bradford under date of July 28, 1637, and the story of an eyewitness is a narrative by Capt. John Mason himself, written at the Colony's request after he had retired to private life in Norwich some thirty years after the battle. Of this the blunt old soldier, upon learning that it was to be printed, naively says: "I never had thought that this should have come to the Press until of late. If I had I should have endeavored to have put a little more varnish upon it. . . . I wish it had fallen into some better hands that might have performed it to the life; I shall only draw the curtain and open my little casement that so others of larger hearts and abilities may let in a bigger light." We may well be grateful that it did not fall into other hands and that Mason omitted "varnish."

Compelled often to borrow the very words of these two narratives for adequate description, let me portray for you the scene.

After the incident at Sachem's Head the Lilliputian fleet soon sailed into the "Quinepiack" where is now New Haven. Seeing a great smoke in the woods and supposing some of their enemy might be there they hastened ashore, but discovered only Connecticut Indians. Returning to their vessels they remained a few days while a Pequot captive—named by the English Luz—was sent upon discovery. To the quaintly expressed surprise of Mason the

spy proved faithful, and, barely escaping with his life, returned with tidings of Sassacus and the Pequots.

Sassacus, suspecting treachery and failing in his effort to kill the Indian, became alarmed, and with Mononotto and some twenty braves, left the band and fled precipitately to the Mohawks; "so"—to quote from Winthrop's letter—"our men missed of him; yet dividing themselves and ranging up and down as the providence of God guided them (for the Indians were all gone save three or four and *they* knew not where to find them, or else would not) upon the thirteenth of this month" (July, 1637) "they lighted upon a great company viz. 80 strong men and 200 women and children in a small Indian town fast by a hideous swamp which they all slipped into before our men could get at them." This so-called "*lighting upon*" is thus further described by Mason. "We then hastened our march towards the place where the enemy was, and coming into a corn field several of the English espyed some Indians who fled from them. They pursued them and coming to the top of an hill saw several wigwams just opposite only a swamp intervening which was almost divided into two parts."

At this point, while the Indians are quiet in the swamp—for they will not long remain so—let us briefly survey the land.

Disembarking at New Haven we have "hastened" with these militant Puritans through what is now Orange and Milford and Stratford and Bridgeport, about 25 miles in all, to what is known as Mill Hill, just north of Southport. In our journey we have crossed the fertile

corn fields of Millplain in Fairfield to the "fording place" in Mill River, which the topography of the district shows must have been then, as always afterward, just above the present barns of Mr. Henry Sturges.

While in the last-named town we have traversed the lands of the Uncoways and are now come to Sashqua-auk, — meaning "Marshland," — the territory of the Sasqua Indians, which extended from Mill River some distance westward. Just across the river at the fording place, and parallel with it, the long ridge of Mill Hill rises abruptly. This must have been the hill to which Mason in his quoted narrative refers. If you will climb it at that point from the river you will see just under you the northern end of "Pequot Swamp," immemorially so called, now much cleared and considerably drained. Just across are the upland pasture lots of Mrs. John Hawkins, on the southerly side of which have been found indications of early Indian occupation. Here then was "the hideous swamp" and there or thereabouts the local Sasqua Indian village, to which the quoted narratives refer. My own early recollection of the uncleared swamp in question fully justifies the describing adjective.

But geographical diversions must now wait upon sterner business in this swamp, and such of my audience as shrink from mud and heat and noise and bloodshed 'would better stay upon the hill.

To quote again: "Our Captains were not then come together, but there was Mr. Ludlow and Capt. Mason with some ten of their men, Capt. Patrick with some twenty or more of his, who shooting at the Indians Capt. Trask with

fifty more came soon in at the noise." "Sergeant Palmer hastened with about twelve men who were under his command to surround the smaller part of the Swamp that so he might prevent the Indians flying. Lieut. Davenport and some twelve more, not hearing the command, fell into the swamp among the Indians in an effort to cross it and reach the wigwams. The swamp was so thick with shrubs and boggy withal that some stuck fast and received many shot. Lieut. Davenport was dangerously wounded and another shot in the head, so as fainting they were in great danger to have been taken by the Indians, but Sergeant Riggs and Sergeant Jeffery and two or three more were rescued and slew divers of the Indians with their swords. The rest of the English coming up the swamp was surrounded.

"Our council being called and the question propounded how we should proceed, Capt. Patrick advised that we should cut down the swamp"—dauntless, unreflecting, thorough Capt. Patrick—"There being many Indian hatchetts taken. Capt. Trask concurred with him but was opposed by others. Then we must pallizado the swamp, which was also opposed. Then they would have a hedge made like those of Gotham, all which was judged by some almost impossible and to no purpose, and that for several reasons, and therefore strongly opposed. But some others advised to force the swamp having time enough it being about three of the clock in the afternoon, but that being opposed it was then propounded to draw up our men close to the swamp, which would much have lessened the circumference, and with all to fill up the open passages with

bushes that so we might secure them until morning and then we might consider further about it. But neither of these would pass, so different were our apprehensions, which was very grievous to some of us who concluded the Indians would make an escape in the night as easily they might and did. We keeping at a great distance what better could be expected? Yet Capt. Mason took order that the narrow in the swamp should be cut through which did much shorten our leaguer. It was resolutely performed by Sergt. Davis."

By these quotations, principally from the narrative of Capt. Mason, the scene at the swamp is almost photographed, and from them you will also readily discover that stubborn differences of opinion among men brave and true in the face of common danger is not a monopoly of the Citizens Union Committee of New York.

Let us continue the quotation. "We being loth to destroy women and children as also the Indians belonging to that place, Mr. Thos. Stanton, a man well acquainted with Indian language and manners, offered his service to go into the swamp and treat with them, to which we were somewhat backward by reason of some hazard and danger he might be exposed unto; but his importunity prevailed, who going to them did in a short time return to us with near two hundred old men, women and children who delivered themselves to the mercy of the English, and so night drawing on we beleagured them as strongly as we could."

"So they continued all the night, standing about twelve foot one from another, and the Indians coming up close

to our men shot their arrows so thick as they pierced their hat brims and their sleeves and stockings and other parts of their clothes; yet so miraculously did the Lord preserve them as not one of them was wounded save those who rashly went into the swamp as aforesaid."

Mason in another place mentions what he calls some "special providences" in these Pequot battles, which are worth repeating.

"John Dier and Thos. Stiles were both of them shot in the knots of their handkerchiefs being about their necks and received no hurt. Lieut. Seeley was shot in the eyebrow with a flat-headed arrow, the point turning downwards. I pulled it out myself. Lieut. Bull had an arrow shot into a hard piece of cheese, having no other defense, which"—Mason observes—"may verify the old saying, 'A little armor would serve if a man knew where to place it.'"

To return to our narrative:

"About half an hour before day the Indians that were in the swamp attempted to break through Capt. Patrick's quarters, but were beaten back several times. They making a great noise, as their manner is at such times, it sounded round about our leaguer. Whereupon, Capt. Mason sent Seargt. Stares to inquire into the cause and also to assist if need required,—Capt. Traske coming also in to their assistance,—but the tumult growing to a very great height we raised our siege, and marching up to the place at a turning of the swamp the Indians were forcing out upon us, but we sent them back by our small shot. We waited a little for a second attempt. The Indians in the mean-

time facing about pressed violently upon Capt. Patrick, broke through his quarters and so escaped. They were about 60 or 70 as we were informed."

"Thus did the Lord scatter his enemies with his strong arm."

Hubbard, in his Indian Wars, deducing the facts from sources not now known, thus describes the final scene:

"A little before daybreak (by reason of the fog which useth to arise about that time, observed to be the darkest time of the night) twenty or thirty of the lustiest of the enemy broke through the besiegers and escaped away. . . . The rest were left to the mercy of the conquerers of which many were killed in the swamp like sullen dogs that would rather in their self-willedness and madness sit still and be shot to pieces than receive their lives for asking at the hand of those into whose power they were now fallen. Some that are yet living and worthy of credit do affirm that in the morning, entering into the swamp they saw several heaps of them sitting close together upon whom they discharged their pieces laden with ten or twelve pistol bullets, at a time putting the muzzles right under the boughs within a few yards of them; so as besides those that were found dead . . . many more were killed and sunk in the mire and never were more minded by friend or foe."

In such manner the curtain fell upon the Pequot Nation. The story is a brief one, for the last act was quickly over. It was piece work performed by experts *con amore*.

The original accounts of this battle from which I have generously quoted make it certain that it took place in

that section of the swamp visible to one crossing the hill, and in the smaller of two divisions of it caused by tongues of upland projecting into and nearly meeting across the miry bottom. Near where the present Connecticut Turnpike crosses the old morass, the Society of Colonial Wars has recently erected the commemorative monument to which at the outset I referred. It consists of a massive block of granite bearing an inscription, easily read by the hundreds who daily pass upon the electric cars, which recites that "The Great Swamp Fight here ended the Pequot War, July 13, 1637," for as "The Great Swamp Fight" it soon came to be known in all Connecticut histories.

It is, of course, impossible at this late day to tell precisely where "Capt. Patrick's quarters" were, or the exact spot where the final struggle actually took place.

The "hideous swamp" of the contemporaneous narrative is easily and certainly identified by tradition, unvarying since the time itself, as the well-known Pequot (or, as it is sometimes locally called, Picket) Swamp; but that the fight occurred where the monument is will probably not go unchallenged.

During recent years, since such matters have come to excite a special interest, various theories upon the subject have been held; only one of which, however, claims to rest upon any evidence. That one located the place near the present residence of Michael Otis, on Centre Street, and is based upon the fact that when Centre Street was built through the swamp, in 1836, a curious mound of gravel surrounded by mud was found just there and utilized for the road.

This came to be known as "the fort" and then as "the Pequot fort," and the tradition thus taking root, grew apace. It having always been common local knowledge that the fight took place somewhere in this swamp, it is not strange that the idea of a fort should become associated with it, and that a place apparently so well adapted by nature for that purpose should be elected to the office.

Little fault could be found with this belief were it not for the requirements of the only authentic narratives of the affair now brought to light, and in large part just read to you. These show conclusively that there was no fort and no time to build one, that the Indians were overtaken in a rapid flight across the state from Groton to the Hudson River, and finding themselves discovered, plunged into the nearby swamp, not for the protection of a fort, but of the impenetrable thickets and bottomless mire. Even if the native Sasqua Indians had used the mound in question for any purpose—as very likely they had—Capt. Mason makes it certain that the mound played no part in the Pequot battle. That was an impromptu tableau of bushes and trees and mud.

The reference by Mason to a narrow place in the swamp between two encroaching points of upland, separating it into a small and a much larger section, furnishes literally the only signboard to the spot we seek.

An examination of the locality, after eliminating the changes of recent years, makes it evident that one of those projecting points is the one near the end of which stands the present monument. The other must have been one of the two which approach it from the west. In

either case the smaller section of the swamp in which the Indians were impounded would be the part (now partly filled by the Connecticut turnpike) where the monument is erected. Confirming this, I am told by old residents of the locality that, before Centre and Spruce Streets were built, a well-worn foot path crossing the swamp (and for that purpose of course selecting its narrowest part) left the upland close to the site in question. At all events the battlefield must have been nearby.

Trumbull well says of that war in which the struggle which we have been considering was the final act: "Few enterprises have ever been achieved with more personal bravery or good conduct. In few have so great a proportion of the effective men of a whole Colony, State, or Nation been put to so great and immediate danger. In few have a people been so deeply and immediately interested as the whole Colony of Connecticut was in that uncommon crisis. In these respects even the great armaments and battles of Europe are comparatively of little importance. In this, under the Divine conduct, by a few brave men Connecticut was saved, and the most warlike and terrible Indian nation in New England defeated and ruined. . . . The conquest of the Pequots struck all the Indians in New England with terror, and they were possessed with such fear of the displeasure and arms of the English that they had no open war with them for nearly forty years. This happy event gave great joy to the Colonies. A day of public thanksgiving was appointed, and in all the churches of New England devout

and animated praises were addressed to Him who giveth His people the victory and causeth them to dwell safely."

So wrote that discriminating and pious chronicler.

It is difficult to determine whether the struggle which we have been considering should be classed among land or naval combats, for the field of battle was of such tenuous consistency that when search was made several of the dead were found to have disappeared beneath its surface.

At least twenty of the Pequot braves are known to have been killed and one hundred and eighty men and squaws taken prisoners; or, in the language of that day, "captivated." Among these were the squaw and children of the Sachem Mononotto. Those who escaped became so weak and scattered that the Narragansetts and Mohegans constantly killed them and brought in their heads to Hartford and Windsor. Sassacus with his band escaped to the Mohawks, who surprised and slew them all, except Mononotto, and sent the scalp of Sassacus to the English. Mr. Ludlow, going into Massachusetts in September, carried a lock of it to Boston. Thus early had that city impressed upon the world at large its preference that tribute should be paid to it only in products of the head.

When Connecticut was saved Fairfield was born. It had not before existed either as a town or settlement. It was known simply as "the region beyond Pequonnocke."

Roger Ludlow, the foremost mind of the Commonwealth, keeping one eye always single to his task, and the other intent on its environment, accompanied the soldiers, as we have seen, in their march to the swamp, and it is related of him by his biographer that "on this march and

in scouting the adjacent country fair Uncowa with its hills and streams, rich intervalles and forest lands captured his imagination."

Early in 1639 the General Court commissioned him to begin a plantation at Pequonnocke. He bought a large tract of land from the Pequonnocke Sachems, and, recalling the attractive region beyond, he—to borrow again the language of the time—also "set down" there, having purchased much of the territory embraced in the present town of Fairfield to which he gave its name.

On his return to Hartford he was taken to task for exceeding his commission, but justified his course by the plea that having come to Pequonnocke—"his apprehensions were that some others intended to take up the sayd place" (viz. Uncowa) "which might be prejudiciall to this Commonwealth, and knowing himself to be one of those to whom the disposal of that Plantacon was committed he adventured to drive his cattle thither, make provision for them there, and to sette out himselfe and some others house lotts to build on there, and submitts himself to the Court to Judge whether he hath trangressed the commission or not."

Gov. Haynes and Thos. Welles were appointed to visit the place, investigate what Ludlow had done, and report to the Court. They reported that "upon due consideration of the same they had thought fit, upon Mr. Ludlow's assenting to the terms propounded by them, to confirm the same." And thus a fair domain and a position of great strategic advantage and strength was won for the parent

Colony when the later controversies with New Haven and the Dutch arose.

At first some eight or ten families came down from Windsor with Ludlow, who made his home on what is the present Main Street of Fairfield just east of Mrs. William Glover's house, and was naturally the principal planter and man of affairs. These were speedily followed by another company from Watertown and a third from Concord. The town soon obtained a patent under the name given to it by Ludlow, and as Trumbull avers, "at an early period became wealthy and respectable."

Its wealth has gone, but those of us who dwell there venture to hope that it is still respectable.

I have thus sought to discharge the task imposed upon me by our Governor. If I have interested you in our first Colonial war—literally a life and death struggle of the Colony—and made intelligible the price then exacted for our right to remain and live and become a commonwealth, I shall be satisfied.

It is certainly a justifiable source of pride for us all that it fell to the lot of this Society worthily to commemorate the event.

EARLY COLONIAL WEAPONS

PROF. WILLISTON WALKER, D.D.



EVERY member of a patriotic society like that of the Colonial Wars, which claims descent from those who fought to maintain, or to extend, the institutions of New England colonial life, must wish that he could see the New England colonial soldier as he appeared in the events which we commemorate in our organization. We have, indeed, a notable example of the appearance of the colonial soldier just on the eve of American independence in the Governor's Foot Guard, which preserves so much of the British colonial uniform of the period. Those gorgeously equipped companies which lend distinction on public occasions to the official head of our commonwealth represent the colonial soldier in his highest development of equipment and uniform. But they must not be regarded as typical of that soldier in general, whose uniform was relatively of simple sort, or frequently was totally absent. For a very considerable part of those who shared in our colonial struggles were, like the Boers in the late war in South Africa, clad in home-made garments and equipped with weapons which they used for the hunt.

To understand the arms and accoutrements of the colonial warrior we have to glance briefly at the history of English armament for a very considerable period anterior to the coming of our ancestors to these American shores. The warriors who overran England under the leadership of William the Conqueror have left record of their armament in the tapestries of the period and are shown to us as equipped for defensive armor with a hauberk, which might be described as a combination of

coat and trousers made, probably, of leather and sewed all over with flat metal rings, thus rendering it comparatively impervious to thrusts of a sword or the points of arrows. On the head of the better equipped knight of the period a conical helmet was worn, covering, however, but little of the face, though the nose was defended by a bar of iron projecting from the brow of the helmet, which must have given a curious appearance to the wearer. The nobles and knights were armed for offense with a lance, sword or mace. The latter weapon, simply a club of improved form and sometimes of heavy wood, though often made of metal and always armed with metal spikes, was a favorite weapon at the time of the conquest of England, and was used by William the Conqueror himself. The foot soldiers of the period were more simply armed. Their defensive protection was comparatively crude, and their offensive weapons were principally the mace, often in the rude fashion of a home-made club, and the long bow. The bow was not reckoned a noble weapon, but it was a great favorite of the Norman peasant, and certainly proved itself in his hands extremely effective. In the battle which determined the possession of England, Harold was killed by an arrow shot, and in Norman use it was soon to become the popular weapon of England.

From the time of the Norman conquest to the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth armor for the use of nobles and knights was steadily improved in quality and defensive value. The first alteration that followed the simple sewn rings of which mention has been made was the introduction of linked mail, in which, instead of being fastened upon

a leathern jacket, the rings were interlaced, much after the fashion of the chain purse. At the same time, the solid helmet was extended so that it more and more covered the face and neck. This armor of linked mail still had the disadvantage of affording scanty protection from the bruising effects of severe blows. If it could not be penetrated readily, its flexibility allowed the force of a blow to pass through it comparatively unchecked, and to the great damage of the man beneath the armor. The result was that, from 1400 onward, pieces of plate, as affording better defense, were more and more introduced into armor, covering, at first, the joints of limbs, the hands, the feet, and other more exposed parts. Armor-making steadily improved, and by 1450 full plate suits, such as we usually associate in imagination with the armed knight, were in general employment. They grew constantly heavier, and armament of a weight as great as 200 lbs. was sometimes employed for tournaments. But the pendulum soon swung the other way, and by the sixteenth century armor was being lightened as musketry came into increasing employment, and its protective value was reduced. One can well appreciate the remark of the witty Scottish-born king, James I. of England, that he liked armor not merely because it protected the wearer, but because it kept him from injuring others. One can picture the cumbrousness of movement which must have characterized even the most agile knight equipped with so heavy a defense. All through this period the favorite weapons of the knight continued, as they had been during

the time of William the Conqueror, the lance, the sword and the mace.

While the chivalry of England was thus equipped, the more immediate ancestry of our colonial warrior was the foot soldier,—a relatively humble and simply outfitted man. From the time of William the Conqueror his armor had been sometimes a leathern jacket, or if of more financial means, one of mail; his weapons the club, the long, sharp-pointed knife, and the long bow. At first regarded as a relatively insignificant and unimportant element in the armies of that age, the wars of Edward III. with France, marked as they were by victories at Crécy (1346) and at Poitiers (1356), won principally by the foot soldier, gave an immense increase in the estimate placed by military men upon his value. With this augmenting consideration came an improvement in his arms. He now wore a solid helmet, though seldom one covering the face, a jacket of chain mail, and carried oftentimes a sword instead of his long knife, and an axe, which soon became one of his favorite and effective weapons in addition to the long bow. As the wars with France went on, some foot soldiers, especially the cross-bow men, wore plate armor, and all were equipped with sharp stakes to resist cavalry, the crude predecessor of the later pike or more modern bayonet.

Of these foot soldiers in the wars with France, the long bow was the favorite weapon. One great recommendation was its cheapness. Under the reign of Edward III, a bow of the same height as the soldier himself, and of sufficient strength to tax his powers well to draw it, cost but a

shilling, and arrows but a shilling twopence for a sheaf of twenty-four. Another reason of the prevalence of the long bow was the quickness with which its arrows could be fired, and the extensiveness of their range. For the most part these arrows were shot upward at an angle of about forty-five degrees, and when so fired would reach easily four hundred yards with sufficient force to penetrate an inch of hard wood. The infantry who thus proved their skill with the long bow stood in solid masses. At Crécy bodies of a frontage of two hundred men and forty ranks deep were thought shallow, but it requires little imagination to picture the showers of arrows that such a company, firing rapidly, must have dropped like rain on the heads and horses of the on-coming French cavalry. While the long bow was thus preferred in England, the cross-bow was the favorite weapon on the Continent, and in spite of the fact that English prejudice rather despised it as a continental weapon, it came increasingly into use in England from the time of Edward III. The cross-bow was in many respects the ancestor of the modern musket. The flight of its discharge was shorter, indeed, than that of the long bow; its range scarcely exceeding two hundred yards, but it was aimed directly at the object intended to be hit, and the course of the flight of its missile by reason of the strength of the bow was much flatter than that of the arrow from the long bow, as usually employed in battle. The cross-bow was commonly equipped with a strong steel arc too powerful to be drawn by the hands, and therefore bent by a small windlass attached to the stock, the string thus drawn taut

being held in place by a catch, which was released by a trigger when the bolt was discharged. The winding of this windlass required the use of both hands, and since the man thus engaged was peculiarly exposed to attack, cross-bow men in battle came to have attendants whose duty it was to hold seven-foot shields called parvises, or porches, before them while they prepared their weapons for discharge.

But in spite of the growth of the use of the cross-bow and the beginnings even of the employment of fire arms, the long bow was highly valued for many years. At as late a period as 1613, Sir John Haywood, an eminent English authority on military tactics, gave as his reasons for preferring the bow to any fire arms that had been developed, that it was quicker in discharge, more certain to hit, and that more men were able to fire at once, so that, therefore, it was, all things considered, a better weapon than the musket for general use. Bows were employed in the Parliamentary forces as late as 1643, and by the Scotch Highlanders at an even more recent period.

As infantry grew more important and were less regarded as secondary forces, their capacity to resist cavalry was emphasized, and it was felt that something better than the sharp stakes of the time of Edward III. was necessary to enable them to withstand the charges of horsemen. This desire to develop the defensive powers of the infantry led to the introduction of three weapons into England. The first of these, and one which came into general use in the fifteenth century, was what was known as the bill-hook, a modified pole-axe or long

wooden staff with a head having a hatchet blade for striking on one side, and a hook on the other, designed to seize the horseman and drag him from his seat in the saddle. At the same time, what was known as the halbard came into extensive use. This was a combined axe and spear, the head of metal being mounted on a staff of from five to seven feet in length. That head was carried on to a spear point, while one side of it was fashioned as a hatchet blade. It was thus adapted to chop and stab, and was regarded as a peculiarly efficient weapon. The halbard long persisted, and for some reason, by the seventeenth century, after its serious use in warfare had diminished, it came to be regarded as a weapon of ceremony, and as such crossed the Atlantic and was in use among our colonial ancestors. The Governor of Massachusetts was accompanied by halbardiers on ceremonial occasions, and in the Antinomian dispute of 1637, the four halbard bearers of the Guard refused to honor Governor Winthrop because of the religious animosities engendered in that debate. Most important of these newer weapons was, however, the pike;—the modern representative of the ancient spear, so well known in classical antiquity. This weapon, used by the Scotch in all the later middle ages, was brought into great repute by the Swiss in their warfare with Charles the Bold, and by Queen Elizabeth's time had largely displaced the bill-hook and the halbard in actual fighting. Shafts of tough and supple wood some eighteen feet long, surmounted with a spear head of metal and held by determined men placed six or eight ranks deep, made a formidable means of resistance against any

cavalry charge, and such hedgehog formation constituted the backbone of an English military force from Queen Elizabeth's time through the period of the civil wars. With the increasing use of fire arms in the sixteenth century, however, a certain portion of each regiment was armed with muskets for more efficient attack; but the main reliance for defensive purposes was the pike. Elizabeth's men were armed with pike, sword and dagger for offense, and for defense with metal corslets from which, for the protection of the lower part of the body, a loose apron of metal plates, known as tasses, depended. The head was protected by a helmet and the lower limbs with leg pieces, while mailed gauntlets were worn, the more effectively to defend the hands which held the pike. But the increasing use of fire arms led to lighter defensive armament, and by the time of Charles I. the footmen's armor was a helmet shaped very much like an inverted kettle, covering simply the top and back of the head and not the face. Breast and back pieces, each of one solid mass of metal, and loose tasses, covered the body. The cost of such a defensive equipment was reckoned in the time of the Parliamentary wars at two pounds two shillings.

Here, therefore, we take up the older colonial armament, which was that of the Stuart period of the home country. Our colonial ancestors were progressive. They brought with them the latest devices of the home-land in military affairs. Though bows and arrows were still used in the home country, none were employed save by Indians in America. Yet very much that would appear strange

to us seemed necessary for the accoutrement of the colonial warrior. That which was most odd to our fancy would probably be the defensive armor which was employed by the Plymouth Pilgrims and Puritan settlers of Massachusetts alike. It was reduced, indeed, to smaller elements than in contemporary England, embracing only a head piece and the corslet covering front and back, and discarding the tassels, which were still thought necessary in the home-land.* Such armament as this was regarded, however, as absolutely essential, and Winthrop was unwilling to speak of a man as armed unless he had on his helmet and corslet. The Pilgrim explorers took these defensive weapons with them in their cold journeys in November and December on Cape Cod, and, in 1638, the little colony of river towns to which the name of Connecticut was attached ordered fifty corslets provided at public expense, and assigned twenty-one of them to be kept in Hartford, some of which were placed in the meeting-house that they might be more readily available for use in sudden attack. It may be said that this provision was justifiable by the fact that the corslet and helmet made an excellent defense against Indian arrows. In the Pequot war Capt. Turner's life was saved by his corslet, and Capt. Underhill's by his helmet, not so heavy a head piece as we would imagine, yet one which he desired to leave at home, but which the insistence of his wife had induced him to wear, with the happy result that she was not left a widow. Iron, however, was scarce and precious in the early days

* The writer is indebted to Mr. Robert Sterling Blair, of New York City, for valuable suggestions.

of New England, and hence leathern jackets, called buff jackets from their color, were largely used as a substitute, and these were frequently strengthened by home-made devices. Thus, in the year 1642, the colony of Connecticut ordered ninety coats prepared, each to be basted with cotton batting as a defense against Indian arrows; and as late as 1675, in King Philip's war, Capt. White fortified a leather coat with paper. The usefulness of all such devices, however, rapidly passed away, for by 1660, in spite of efforts on the part of the colonists to the contrary, the Indians had become largely possessed of fire arms, and these made such home devices as cotton batting, or even stout leathern jackets, of little value, while the iron armor was found to be extremely cumbersome in woodland warfare.

Turning now to his offensive weapons, we should find the colonial warrior very much equipped. In 1629, the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay made provision for a force of one hundred men for its military service, and provided for its armament. The captain and lieutenant were each provided with partisans. Three sergeants were equipped with halberds, a weapon already described, and like the partisan at the time, largely a badge of distinction. The serious work of fighting was to be done by the privates, and for their equipment ten full muskets were ordered, each with barrels four feet in length, furnished with rests, from which they were fired, and discharged by means of match-locks. Besides these full muskets, which were the heaviest armament of the company, eighty of its members were provided with bas-

tard muskets, so called, a lighter weapon than the full musket, fired without a rest, and discharged by means of a flint-lock, known as a snaphance. For the supply of ammunition of these ninety musketeers, ninety bandeleers were provided, a broad sash-like band going over one shoulder and crossing the body to the opposite side at the waist. From this band, as if they had been a series of tassels, there depended little boxes, hung each to the bandeleer by a thong, and each containing a charge of powder, and where the bandeleer crossed at the waist there was fastened a pouch containing the bullets. Besides this armament of musketry, each member of the company was provided with a sword, and sixty of the hundred were equipped with corslets, the same number with pikes, and twenty more with half-pikes, a shorter weapon, designed for the men of less physical strength than was required to wield the heavy pike. It is evident that in thus planning the equipment of a company for service in the new raw wilderness on this side of the Atlantic, the Massachusetts authorities had in mind the practice of England of their day rather than the unfamiliar needs of colonial warfare. The pike so largely used in England was certainly never a necessity on this side of the ocean. With the musket the case was different. From the first that was a main reliance in the New World, and to keep up the supply of ammunition for its effective use was one of the chief endeavors of the colonists. Connecticut, early in 1638, ordered that each man liable to military service should have constantly in his possession half a pound of powder, two pounds of bullets, and, if his piece was a match-lock,

a pound of match. This equipment was afterwards doubled. Massachusetts had an even more extensive requirement, demanding the maintenance of the supply of one pound of powder, twenty bullets and twenty fathoms of match; and, in order to secure the fulfillment of this requirement the Massachusetts colony, in 1635, made musket bullets of full weight legal tender at a farthing each to the number of forty-eight. One can imagine his ancestor of that period paying his score at the tavern, or making his contribution in the church, with a pound or two of musket balls.

The musket for which all this provision was made is said to have been of Italian origin, and to have become known in England in the latter part of Queen Elizabeth's reign. As first introduced, and as described in the equipment of the Massachusetts company, the full musket was extremely heavy and cumbersome, so much so that it was fired from a rest carried by the musketeer and discharged by the match-lock. The manual of arms of the period shows its cumbrousness and gives us some explanation why Sir John Haywood should have preferred the long bow as more effective in battle. To discharge the piece involved ten movements: 1. hold the lighted match in the left hand; 2. clean the piece from foul powder; 3. insert the charge of powder from the bandeleer; 4. take the bullet from the bag; 5. ram home the bullet; 6. pick the breach vent with a pin; 7. place the match in the lock; 8. set the rest in position; 9. lay musket in the rest and aim; 10., and lastly, fire. It is evident that in all this complicated process a con-

siderable number of accidents were liable. The burning match, much like the punk which Fourth of July celebrators use, was, during the most of this process, sizzling and spitting in the left hand of the musketeer and was in imminent danger of coming in contact with the powder charges attached to the bandeleer, an accident of not infrequent occurrence, and resulting in serious damage to the appearance, if not to the life, of the soldier. The rest, moreover, was attached by a string to the left wrist and must have seriously incommoded the free use of that hand, and the match was always a source of annoyance, being difficult to keep alight in wet weather, when it was often placed in the soldier's helmet for more efficient protection; and, if once extinguished, being hard to relight in those days before friction matches were invented. Indeed, the Pilgrim party in its exploration of Cape Cod, in 1620, had to wait until someone could bring a brand from the camp-fire by which the matches could be lighted, before they could resist the Indian attack. Notwithstanding all these disadvantages match-locks remained in use to some extent, in early Connecticut and Massachusetts, as late as the time of King Philip's war.

One is not surprised, however, to find that the first settlers largely preferred a lighter and more serviceable weapon. The Massachusetts company, of which mention has been made, had eighty bastard muskets, or culivers, as they were sometimes called, while only ten of its members were equipped with the full musket, the cumbrousness of which has just been described. As compared with the full musket, the culiver was a much more convenient weapon,

though doubtless that convenience was obtained by the sacrifice of power. It required no rest, being lighter than the full musket, and what was much better, it was fired, not by a match-lock but by one of the primitive forms of that flint-lock which persisted well into the nineteenth century in all military equipment. The flint-lock is indeed of very early origin, having been invented, it is generally supposed, in Nuremberg in 1515. But in its original form, in which the flint was held against a wheel revolved by a spring, it was thought to be a very expensive and, unfortunately also, a very uncertain, device. The general use of the flint-lock in musketry came about through the Dutch invention of the snaphance, a lock which differed from the later and perfected flint-lock with which most of us are acquainted, chiefly in that it had no covered pan, the flint striking instead a hinged bar of iron swung from the front side of the pan and roughened at the end that sparks might be struck the more certainly. With the use of the snaphance came the introduction of cartridges abroad and to some extent in New England, though on this side of the Atlantic the powder horn and bullets were often preferred, both being much more effective and less dangerous devices than the old-fashioned bandeleer. By 1665, the flint-lock, in some form, was in general use in New England, and the modern flint-lock, in which the pan is covered and the powder thus protected from the rain, an invention made in France about 1630, was taking the place of the snaphance of early colonial days.

Naturally the uncertainty of these early weapons led to large reliance on cold steel. Swords were part of each soldier's outfit at the beginning of the New England

colonies, and were used effectively in the Pequot war. At as recent a period as 1666 Connecticut Statutes required that twenty out of each hundred soldiers should be armed with pikes, not less than fourteen feet in length; yet the pike, as already pointed out, was merely a relic of old world conditions, and proved of little use in fighting in early New England history.

The older weapons passed away with great rapidity when the Indians gained fire arms. That acquisition made both parties equal, as far as individual equipment could make them so, in the struggle for the possession of the soil of New England, and it necessitated, therefore, the adaptation of armament to the conditions of woodland warfare. A great simplification was effected. Armor, pikes, full muskets and swords all proved useless. By 1700 all had been abandoned. The equipment of Lovewell's party in the famous fight of 1725 is typical of the changed conditions of warfare. Each was then armed with a gun, a knife and a hatchet. The colonial warrior had thoroughly adapted himself to the demands of his environment, and the skill in the use of these weapons, by Indians and whites, was practically equal. This type of warfare, and even more the constant use of the flint-lock in the hunt, was the training of most of New England for the American Revolution.

I have said very little of the heavier armament of the colonies, for relatively little use was made of it during the earlier colonial period. Yet that was not absolutely forgotten. In providing for the equipment of its forces in 1629, the government of Massachusetts remembered their need also of large armament, the names of which

seem strange enough to our altered age. One whole "culvering," two "demie-culverings," three "sakers," and two "iron drakes," were ordered for its heavy ordnance; and in 1635, the two drakes were loaned by the Massachusetts colony to the infant colony of Connecticut. It may be worth our while to note that the heaviest of these weapons, the "culvering," carried a ball of seventeen and a half pounds in weight, the "demie-culvering" one of nine and a half, the "saker" one of five and a half, while the "drakes," such as were loaned to Connecticut, were even smaller pieces of artillery, their shot weighing, probably, not more than one pound. This heavy ordnance, if such it can be called, played no considerable rôle in the early history of Connecticut.

After all, it is not so much the armament as the man who uses it. Upon him the success of any military struggle depends. Not but that our colonial warriors were well equipped, as judged by the military knowledge and requirements of their own day. As we have seen, they were progressive in this as in other matters. They discarded fairly promptly those weapons and defences which had been employed effectively in Europe, but which the conditions of warfare on this side of the Atlantic rendered undesirable. They adapted their armament to American conditions, but all this would have availed little had it not been for the bravery and skill and character of the colonial warrior himself. It is to these qualities of his brain and heart that stood back of the weapons that he used that we owe the land that he wrested from the wilderness, and to which he gave freedom and political independence.

THE THREE MEMORIALS

FORREST MORGAN, Esq.

THE SWAMP FIGHT MEMORIAL AT SOUTHPORT

EIGHT years ago, and eight years after the formation of the Society of Colonial Wars, this body was formally urged to a commemorative act which lay at the forefront of its reason for existence. This was the creation of some tangible monument to mark the place where the one great war within its own colony was ended by the extermination of the foe; the one great peril which had menaced the colony's growth removed wholly and forever; its existence as more than a feeble and petty outlier of Massachusetts, perhaps its independent existence at all, made possible. Begun in the woods near Mystic, the war was finished in a swamp of old Fairfield. Not far away are the present natural and artificial highways along which daily travel great numbers in ignorance or forgetfulness of place and event. Hence arose a desire to erect there a memorial, that some at least of those hurrying hosts might see and note it. Perhaps this memorial might awaken a new sense of gratitude to the brave forefathers whose valor and sacrifice made our own peaceful commonwealth a possibility; perhaps it might serve to countervail the uninformed or over-sentimental detraction which too often makes a reproach of the very work that has given the detractors and their whole society a being.

This scheme, first pressed by Mr. R. P. Wake-
man of Southport in 1901, and favorably reported

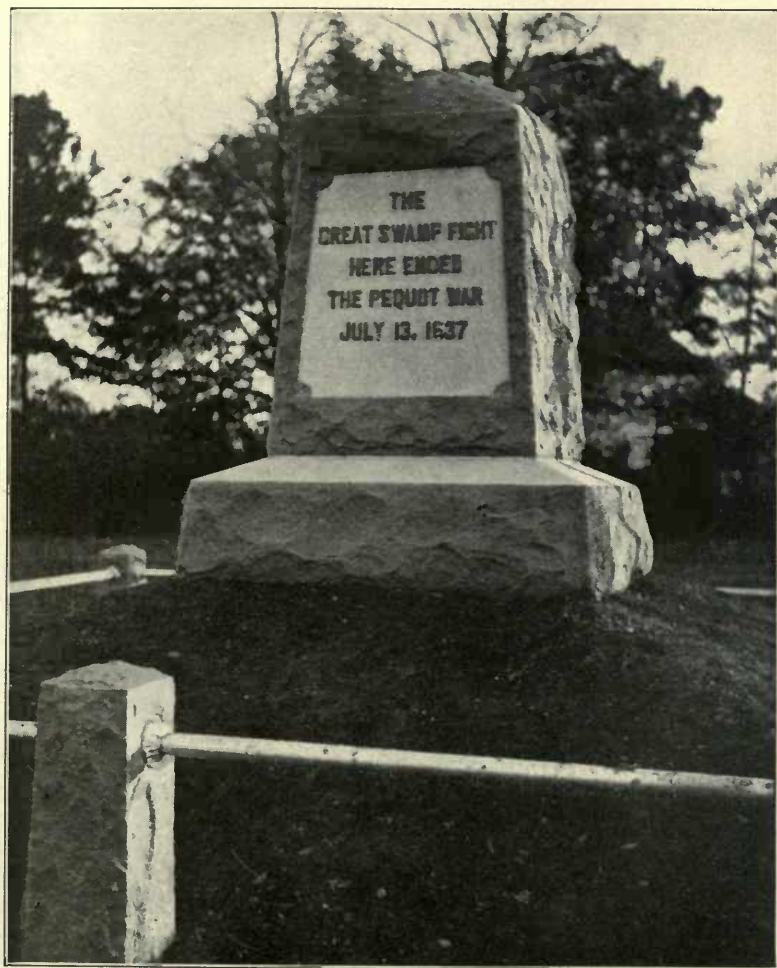
See also pp. ^{43.}_{59.} 73.

by the Council, was seriously taken up two years later. At a meeting of the Council March 10, 1903, Governor Woolsey appointed a committee consisting of Hon. Morris B. Beardsley, Hon. John H. Perry, and R. P. Wakeman, to report upon plans and ways and means. Subscriptions were asked for, and a liberal response was made, to the amount of above \$700; the Society added a small amount from its general funds; and a handsome granite monument was cut, engraved with a suitable inscription, and put in place the latter part of 1904. It consists of a granite base and die, resting on a concrete foundation thirteen feet deep. On the front of the die, in polished letters raised above a sunken shield, is the following inscription:

THE
GREAT SWAMP FIGHT
HERE ENDED
THE PEQUOT WAR
JULY 13, 1637.

The rear of the base bears in small incised capitals the words: "Erected by the Connecticut Society of Colonial Wars, 1904." Its site, just west of the village of Southport, is close beside the electric railroad which runs from Fairfield to Westport.

Despite all that has been said and written upon this most momentous struggle, strangely enough its full issues have never been brought out; and some factors even of the problem itself are often misunderstood, and in conse-



THE GREAT SWAMP FIGHT MEMORIAL IN SOUTHPORT

quence the actors misjudged. A brief review of its elements will make clearer the justification of our memorial, and how thoroughly both men and deeds deserve it, not only in might but in right.

Not far from A. D. 1600, a fierce Algonquin tribe west of the Hudson—possibly sharing with the equally fierce and stronger Mohawks the sentiment of the Kilkenny cats—migrated in search of better hunting grounds or weaker neighbors. They found one or both in the district between the Mystic and the Thames. Ousting the Narragansett occupants, they became the most formidable Indian power in New England, in combined numbers and aggressiveness;—we purposely do not say *native* power, for they were foreigners just as much as the later whites, only red foreigners. Their power lay not in any civilization superior to the rest, or better use of their lands, but in sheer ferocity and military leadership. They held all Connecticut to tribute, enforced by the tomahawk; so that the whites when they came were the natural allies of all the other Indians there. The Pequots were quick to take the alarm at their arrival; not at all from any far-sighted apprehension of danger to an Indian system which did not exist, but from natural fear of irresistible arms liable to be turned against themselves and reinforce their enemies. They pretty certainly shared in the great Indian plot of 1630 to exterminate the Massachusetts settlements; soon afterward they were embroiled in a war with the Dutch; during its course they massacred the crew of a Massachusetts trading vessel, and soon after were accused of harboring the murderers of another. Massachusetts

visited them with a punitive expedition, in which Connecticut joined under protest; it was so bungled as to rouse the unharmed tribe to a war of life or death, not against Massachusetts, which was out of reach, but Connecticut, which lay close at hand. After enduring some months of the miscellaneous murder and torture of Indian warfare, with no one's wife or child safe in going out of doors, the colony drafted half its fighting men to assail the heart of the Pequot power; a revolted section and rival claimant for chieftainship of the latter would help them, and the Narragansetts at worst would be neutral toward a deadly enemy. Capably handled, and reinforced by a body of Narragansetts who did nothing and of Mohegans who fought, the little army struck the Pequots in the rear, and annihilated from a third to a half of the tribe with one of their two fortresses. The remainder were still formidable enough to prevent any one from caring to meddle with them except in self-defense; and a civilized people, even so heavily hit, would have held their ground and fought or made terms. But an Indian tribe had few or no ties, material or sentimental, to one district more than another; and the Pequots were themselves recent immigrants, valuing the territory only as a feeding-ground and point of vantage, and were in mortal fear lest the English should repeat the blow. They burned their remaining stockade and wigwams, and started west, probably for their old district. But the whites dared not let them continue to exist as a power; in a fury of revenge they might turn up anywhere in a sudden raid or slaughter, and no family would have an hour's security. Massachusetts and

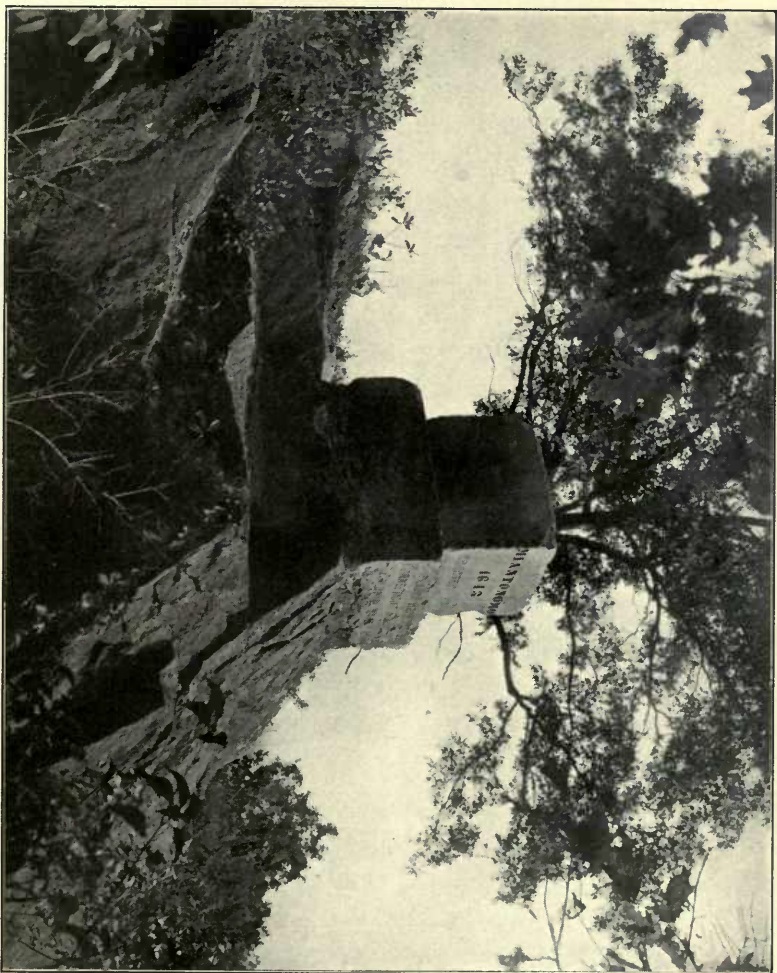
Connecticut joined in resolving to break up their organized existence altogether. Pursued along the coast, a few score were killed or captured in a swamp near the Thames; the rest, corralled in the Fairfield swamp, were offered their lives but mostly preferred to fight, and were almost all slain, or captured and sold as slaves. Their fugitive chief was killed by the Mohawks, despite the Indian laws of hospitality, which exist chiefly in literature.

Let us suppose the war had failed, and the Pequot power had remained unbroken, even if the white "army" escaped with its life: what would have been the result? Prophecy is not often as secure as in this case it can be. First, new settlers would certainly not have come to Connecticut while the hostility of the Pequots continued, their raiders murdering every man, woman, or child caught straying far from a block-house. The settlements might have held their own, and grown slowly from internal increase; but they would not have spread to any extent even west of the river, much less east, where savagery would have held full sway. And this in turn would have meant that the northeastern part of the present State would have been settled from Massachusetts and become part of that colony; that the southwest would have been settled from, or a claim established by, New Netherlands, and thus gone to swell New York; that the centre would have been too weak to rebuff the claim of New York up to the Connecticut, and might well have been absorbed by it; that even if it had retained its independence, it would not have been large enough to induce the English court to give it New Haven, which itself would probably have

fallen to New York; that at most there would have been a small, weak colony, another Rhode Island, in place of our Connecticut, and more likely nothing at all. What our forefathers did, then, at the Mystic fort and the Fairfield swamp, was in part to create Connecticut as it is and Vermont as it is, to change the conditions of all southern New England, and, remembering what Connecticut contributed to framing the Constitution, perhaps to determine the destinies of the Western Hemisphere. They may perhaps also have prevented a Pequot and Narragansett league, which would have put even Massachusetts in the gravest peril; but of that we cannot be so sure.

THE MIANTONOMO MONUMENT

At about the same time with the effective movement for the Southport memorial, the ground in Greenville, Norwich, where the monument to Miantonomo so long stood, was sold for building purposes. This enforced a removal of the stone; and it was suggested that that stone be reset about two hundred feet away, on a sharp little bluff whence it would be visible for a long distance, a conspicuous feature in the landscape. With the aid of the Society, and the funds gathered for this and the preceding monument, this was accomplished. The monument, erected in 1841, is a granite block eight feet high and five feet square at the base, carved with "Miantonomo, 1643." It replaced a cairn of stones which an unknowing farmer had used



THE MANTONOMO MEMORIAL IN NORWICH

as a foundation for his barn, and which had been thrown one by one upon the original heap by passers-by for two centuries; a heap marking the place of the chieftain's capture and supposed also to mark the place of his slaughter and burial, a tradition now doubted.

The issues of Miantonomo's fate cannot compare with those of Sassacus and his tribe; yet they have been the subject of so much acrimonious controversy, and so much ill-informed or prejudiced libel on our ancestors, that they are worth a brief restatement.

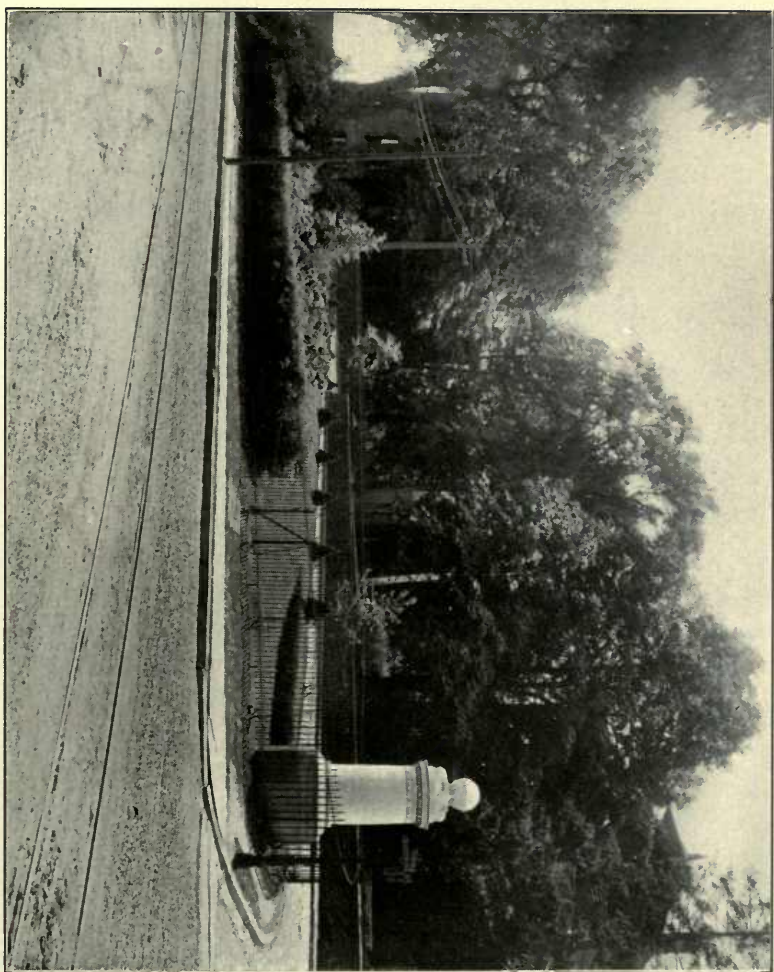
Miantonomo's tribe, the Narragansetts, formed from the first the greatest single uneasiness of Massachusetts, just as later the Pequots did of Connecticut, each dreading its formidable neighbor. Open war with them would have brought down a swarm of other tribes and well-nigh driven the earliest settlements into the sea; a league such as the Narragansetts attempted almost at the first settlement of the Bay would certainly have accomplished this. And they never left the whites long without omens of hostility. Canonicus threatened the Plymouth men; Miantonomo swaggered about Boston most menacingly; only a chance prevented the League of 1630 from taking effect; in the Pequot war, their councils were divided and they waited to see which of two enemies would be victorious. No gratitude was due to Miantonomo for his action, any more than for his ill-will; both were a case of policy and self-interest. But the destruction of the Pequots only raised up Uncas and his Mohegans. They attempted to take the same position of dominance which Sassacus and the Pequots had held. They placed them in the same

position of irreconcilable enmity to the Narragansetts. A war was only a question of time, and in 1642 it came. Miantonomo was nominally an ally of Massachusetts. Thus guaranteed against aggression from others, he had corresponding obligations. Uncas was an ally of Connecticut. Miantonomo, therefore, asked permission of both colonies to fight Uncas, and graciously received it. Both could bear with fortitude all possibility that their two Indian allies should destroy each other. Miantonomo was defeated and captured. Uncas would naturally have made a bonfire of him for the delectation of the Mohegans; but he was afraid to take the great chief's life without the permission of the whites. He therefore lodged his prisoner at Hartford, while the Connecticut authorities were deciding whether he should be given back as a legitimate prize of war. They wished Massachusetts to take her share of the risk of a decision which would enrage one tribe or the other, and referred the case to the New England commissioners, composed of delegates from both Colonies. The issue was one of pure policy; there was no moral side to it whatever, except the surrender of an actual prisoner of their own to torture, something in fact they did not do. Their treaty gave Miantonomo no guaranty against the results of voluntary battle. He was Uncas's prisoner by fair capture, and an attempt to force Indians to spare the lives of their prisoners of war would be simply silly. But as a matter of policy, to compel Uncas to give up his crowning prize and let the Narragansetts have their war-chief again would justly anger and alienate the Mohegans. They were much the more likely to keep peace with the whites, and were the weaker of the two; this without

strengthening any continued peace with the Narragansetts. Still, to give Miantonomo back to Uncas would insure the certain and undisguised enmity of the Narragansetts. Only one alternative remained,—to keep Miantonomo permanently a prisoner; and this was not only absurdly impossible, but would make enemies of *both* tribes. Utterly unable to decide, and feeling uncertain whether Christianity would allow them to give over a prisoner to death, the commissioners left the decision to a convention of ministers then sitting. They decided unanimously that the Scriptures did not forbid such a surrender; and in all the denunciation and sarcasm loaded upon them for their bloodthirstiness, no one has ever alleged that their theology was not sound. They advised that Uncas be permitted to take Miantonomo away and kill him, with white witnesses to see that no torture was inflicted. After two hundred and seventy years, no better solution of an insoluble problem has been suggested. Their policy was as sagacious as a political blind alley allowed. In fact, it was fully justified by the event. The Narragansetts were angry, but had to take it out in anger. They dared not begin war alone, and could not form a league. They took part in King Philip's War, but they would have done so in any case. As to the allegation that the ministers murdered Miantonomo, it is senseless. They gave him an easier death than he would have found but for Uncas's fear of the whites; and, had they forced Uncas to let him go, the blood of many a better man would doubtless have been on their heads. There can be no question that the monument, not so much to the man as to the event, is deserved.

THE CHARTER OAK MEMORIAL

For many years it had been the purpose of the Society to mark the site of the vanished Charter Oak with a suitable memorial, to prove that Hartford was neither unmindful of, nor ungrateful for, the services for which it stood. So long ago as 1896, the site nearest the tree was secured for a nominal consideration from Mrs. Zeno K. Pease, who would accept no payment for the land, since it had been the wish of her late husband to see the monument erected there, and she was glad to have our Society undertake the task. On January 19, 1897, a committee consisting of James J. Goodwin, Ralph W. Cutler, and Charles Dudley Warner, was appointed to carry out the plan. On Mr. Warner's death in 1901, Rev. Francis Goodwin was appointed his successor. The peculiar difficulties and limitations of the site made the task a hard one; the Pequot and Miantonomo monuments for a time diverted the energies of the Society; and it was not until June, 1903, that Mr. Charles A. Platt of New York, the distinguished architect, was commissioned to prepare a design, which in 1905 was approved and contracted for. A year later the monument was put in place; but the boundaries were found to be uncertain, compelling changes in the layout and the street grades. In 1907 all was completed; a handsome iron fence was set around the monument; by the generous aid of Mr. G. A. Parker, superintendent of the Hartford parks, the grounds were planted; and a young



THE CHARTER OAK MEMORIAL IN HARTFORD



scion of the old tree was secured and set out, which we trust in time will rival its venerated parent. The total cost of all was about \$5,000.

The hiding of the charter was not technically a colonial war nor an incident of one, as were the two foregoing events; but it was a colonial *victory* of the first order, in a struggle for independent colonial existence. That was lost at the moment; but secured as a finality, through as curious an alliance of the unlikeliest luck with otherwise unfruitful refractoriness as any in history. An abstract of the history will bring out the real perils and achievement in a way not usually presented.

There are three main elements of the situation to fix our minds upon. First, Connecticut was in a much more precarious position than Massachusetts, aside from its lesser strength. The latter would be the chief backer, and one retaining much of its individuality, in any combination into which it entered; but Connecticut was in perpetual danger of partition and extinction if too contumacious. Massachusetts wanted part of its territory, New York the rest; and New York meant the king himself. Democratic Puritan Connecticut as minor partner with royalist Episcopalian New York would have been in perpetual purgatory, paralyzed and paralyzing. Second, the plan to consolidate New England was not a caprice of James, but the permanent policy of all English statesmen of the time: William was as convinced of its judiciousness and as loth to abandon it as James, only he had not the power. Third, Connecticut itself was irreconcilably divided on the wisdom of opposition. The weight of

numbers was in favor of holding to independence until it was wrenched away; the weight of leadership was in favor of doing cheerfully what there was no rational hope of averting, and thus retaining English good-will and a share in the new government. The chief men thought the others foolish mules; what the other party thought in return is not on record. The people impartially elected both parties anew, evidently willing to abide by whatever decision their best men settled among themselves, and abstained from interference. Some at least of the leaders, forced as mouthpieces of the majority to write official "stand-offs" and execute a system of contumacy which they thought impolitic, tried to placate the higher powers on their private account by letters indicating a willingness to comply. They wished themselves to remain on top in any event; they are not to be blamed, but at this crisis in Connecticut's fate it was not even united. The scheme to preserve the charter even after it was supposably waste paper seems to have had no sympathy from the chief officials; that it had their help was for other reasons.

The immediate result justified their views. The Crown took over the government of both Rhode Island and Connecticut. In both cases Andros asked for the charters, and in both cases failed to obtain them. There is no evidence or likelihood that he cared much: probably he considered the performance childish, as but for the happening of the unexpected it might still be characterized. Those who arranged the dramatic scene in Hartford cannot have foreseen the overthrow of the reigning house. But it soothed the feelings of the sore majority, retained

their good-will for the executive chiefs, and probably pleased even the latter so long as it did not offend the supreme power. They were Connecticut patriots after all, bearing no good-will to Andros or the new régime, and something might turn up for which the charter would be useful.

What, then, did the rescue of our copy of the charter—there was another in England—accomplish? Far more, possibly, than any historian has ever intimated. The situation of affairs after the downfall of James suggests a fair inference. William and his advisers wished and attempted to perpetuate James's plan of a New England union. Now it is quite certain that had no charter stood in the way, they would have done so, since the Massachusetts charter was already gone. But for the ability of the old Connecticut leaders to produce their old charter at once, their warrant for taking a vote on the resumption of the old government, there would almost certainly have been either an interregnum, or a protest of illegality which would have had the same result. The mere existence of the second copy in England might not have been enough: it would have taken too long to get it here. The blow could have fallen first. Even if Rhode Island had had to be left out as still possessing its charter, the union would have gone through; so small a section would not have been allowed to balk so great a scheme. In such case it is more than probable that to complete the union the Rhode Island charter would have been vacated by later proceedings, as that colony was not strong enough to make effective resistance. But William did not care in his precarious position to begin a struggle

with two colonies at once, and therefore both preserved their individuality, as thus did Massachusetts and New Hampshire as well. Even Massachusetts as predominant factor of a fusion would not have been the Massachusetts of history. We may fairly assume, therefore, that to the rescue of the charter Connecticut and also all the other New England colonies owe a saved individuality, with its contribution in influence to the shaping of our national life.

THE CHARTER OAK MEMORIAL

DEDICATED JUNE FOURTEENTH

1907



GOVERNOR CHARLES E. GROSS had charge of the exercises in connection with the unveiling of the monument which has been described in *The Courant*. He spoke briefly of the work of the committee, for which James J. Goodwin then made report as follows:

The committee beg to report that on the 19th of June, 1896, the site nearest the tree was secured for a nominal consideration from Mrs. Zeno K. Pease, who refused payment for the land, as it had been the wish of her late husband to see a suitable memorial erected on this spot, and she was glad to entrust this labor of love to our Society.

At a meeting of the council on January 19, 1897, it was voted to proceed to erect such a monument, and James J. Goodwin, Ralph W. Cutler and Charles Dudley Warner were appointed a committee to carry out the wishes of the Society. Owing to the death of Mr. Warner, Rev. Francis Goodwin, D.D., was appointed his successor on March 14, 1901.

In the meantime various efforts were made to obtain a fitting design for such work, but owing to the peculiar difficulties and limitations of the site, it was found almost impossible to get a satisfactory solution of the problem before us.

While we were struggling with the task, we relaxed somewhat our efforts in order not to delay the marking of other historical sites in which the Society was interested: the Miantonomo at Norwich and the Swamp Fight at Southport monuments.

We finally secured the services and co-operation of the well known architect, Mr. Charles A. Platt of New York, in June, 1903, who gave most careful thought and study to the work, but it was not until 1905 that the present model was approved and selected, and the work put under contract. Nearly a year passed before the monument was in place, and then the uncertainties of the

boundaries were discovered and alterations in the layout of the ground and in the street grades were made necessary.

This spring everything having been satisfactorily arranged, the fence was erected around the enclosure and the grounds were planted through the generous aid of Mr. G. A. Parker, superintendent of the Hartford parks, to whom we are greatly indebted.

We were also able to secure a young scion of the old oak, which now bids fair to grow and will in time, we hope, prove to be a worthy descendant of its famous ancestor.

You have borne, gentlemen, very patiently the many delays in the fulfillment of our trust. We hope the result before you will prove that our labors have not been entirely in vain, and we herewith surrender our trust to the Society.

Governor Gross spoke in recognition of the services of the committee and its chairman and said that it was proper at this time to bear in mind the man who made the Charter Oak historic. Mr. Gross paid tribute to the loyalty, courage and quickness of mind of Captain Joseph Wadsworth, without which the charter would not have been preserved. His children's children to the sixth and seventh generations erected this monument as a lasting memorial to a man's loyalty. He hoped that the little Charter Oak would live to protect and shade the memorial to its grandsire.

George E. Taintor then offered the following, which were adopted:

Voted, That the report of the committee on the Charter Oak Memorial be and the same is hereby accepted, and the committee discharged with the thanks of this Society, which fully recognizes and appreciates the value of their services, and especially those of, and the financial aid rendered by, its chairman, James J. Goodwin, Esq.

Voted, That this Society now accepts and dedicates the memorial as marking the place where stood the Charter Oak, memorable in the history of the colony of Connecticut.

Voted, That this Society will tender to the city of Hartford the piece of land upon which said memorial has been erected, to be maintained by it as a public park of said city in the expectation and hope that it will always stand as commemorating "Loyalty to the State."

Voted, That upon the acceptance by said city of Hartford of said tract of land and said memorial, James J. Goodwin, Esq., who now holds title to said land, be and he is hereby requested and authorized to convey said property to said city as a public park.

No attempt had been made, by announcing the exact time of the unveiling, to attract a crowd and the number of those who witnessed the ceremonies was not large, but those who were there were interested spectators. Among them was the venerable Dr. Gurdon W. Russell, who is sixth in direct descent from Captain Joseph Wadsworth.

THE DUTCHMAN IN CONNECTICUT

REV. PROF. M. W. JACOBUS, D.D.

WHEN one realizes that the Dutch discovered the river on whose banks we are gathered to-night, almost a quarter of a century before Mr. Hooker with his faithful congregation pushed their way through the ninety miles of trackless forest to this place, and before the Massachusetts Colony from which they came was thought of, and when, further, one considers that of the territory which the Dutch had thus peacefully and honestly acquired along this river they were gradually dispossessed by these same Massachusetts men, promptly if without consent, and effectively if without payment, it is not unnatural for one who has been so courteously asked to represent before you to-night the Holland Society to feel that whatever unpleasantness may have existed in this region between his forbears and yours, it was not such as was in any way responsible for the Colonial wars.

There are several ways to leave a place when one has to go, but the Dutchman left these places that he had once possessed peacefully at least, if not altogether silently, and as he looked back upon his ventures apparently had no other consciousness regarding them than that which the Irishman had of the drubbing he had got from his friend, when he said that the only thing wanting to make it a success to himself was the success it was to the other fellow.

In fact, it is a matter of somewhat large surprise that, with all the pioneer hardihood and commercial aggressive-

ness of the Dutch in their American settlements, and with all the advantage which the long establishment of these settlements had given them, their virtual surrender to the English was accomplished without anything more than a blustering protest on their part, and the English rule and government accepted with nothing beyond the pessimism of a grumbling discontent.

The historians, to be sure, would have us understand that this is to be attributed partly to the enervation of a long security of possession, and partly to the accident of unpreparedness against a large force; doubtless this is true; but the history of the Dutchman since that time, the history of his church, the history of his school, the history of his letters and life, has shown such an exclusiveness from all the development which has been going on around him that we are forced to say, as far as the impressing of himself upon that development is concerned, he has missed his opportunity.

And I am afraid this throws light upon recent events in other parts of the world, in which the Dutchman has been deeply concerned. I know his grand struggle of three hundred years ago for liberty and independence—a struggle so much like our own. You can read about the resemblance in the book which is said to be the first book ever printed in Hartford, a book written by a Hollander in the English language, showing how similar were these two revolts. That revolt of his across the sea was practically the first blow which kept Spain restricted in her American possessions, and determined ultimately the civilization of this land of ours to be Germanic and not Latin. It is con-

sequently possible for me to say even in this presence to-night that in some ways the year 1609 was more significant to this country's destiny than the year 1620. I know further the deep sympathy of the Dutchman with the struggle of our own forefathers. Popularly, if not officially, it was ahead of the sympathy of France. Generous it was with supplies and stores through the West Indian channels, and with millions of money in the darkest hour of our night. It was reckless even to the bringing of England to a declaration of war against his country for her help of us. His was the first country to salute our flag and the second to recognize our independence, the medals commemorating which event were unearthed just a few years ago in the Museum at the Hague.

Now of all this the noble fight in South Africa may be said to have been the natural and logical result; and yet behind that desperate struggle lie long years of just this same exclusiveness from the moving swing of civilization round about him which the Dutchman has shown in this land of ours. Long ago he should have seen the trend of things. Long ago he should have adjusted himself to it and influenced it for the common weal; but he did not, and what has come upon him is simply what might have been expected to come. It seems in fact as though what he says about himself to-day were true. "We have made a great struggle for liberty. We have lived a great history in freedom and independence. We are quite content with the past, and have no particular ambitions for the future."

Now, of course this is something about my people that, if it has to be said, I greatly prefer to say myself, rather

than have anyone else say it; and yet I do not know but I have just enough of the Colonial Connecticut blood in my own veins—that blood of the constitution, if not of the nutmeg variety, that impelled forbears of mine to move away from the New Haven Colony for the sake of civil freedom—just enough of this to make me dare to say it for the truth which it seems to press upon us, namely, that a people's struggle for liberty is not over with the conflict of the battlefield. The shock of war may be a great thing to endure, and all sorts of glorious honors may be due those who stand it, and through it teach the world again the old lesson of liberty. But the strain of peace is almost as great as the shock of war, and we come to reckon with—we always have to reckon with—whether we crown or not, those peoples who so impress themselves upon the movement of the events of peace as to create the characteristics of the civilization and the spirit of the age in which they live. They may or may not have had their struggle for liberty; it really matters little. But they must have had their struggle with liberty and made it captive to their own ideas.

Such struggle apparently the Dutchman did not have. We turn over the pages of Irving's Knickerbocker History and dwell with pleasure on the delightful pictures he gives us of those three Dutch governors whose names he uses—Wouter Van Twiller, of capacious stomach and diminutive legs, whose ideas were so large he could not turn them over in his head, who ate four meals a day, smoked his pipe eight hours, and slept the rest of the time; Wilhelmus Kieft, of fiery soul and flaming genius, who sought to

annihilate the foes of New Netherlands by official proclamation; Peter Stuyvesant, that honest, bluff, strong-minded, but warm-hearted old soldier, who knew how a community ought to be governed, and governed it accordingly. But unfortunately the reality behind these pictures bears no resemblance to the pictures themselves, and does not thrill us when we face it. For Van Twiller was an adventurer of such outrageous proportions that he had to be recalled from his position, and Kieft a tyrant of such deep dye that the country could not stand him, and Stuyvesant a man of vanity and ostentatious display. These are hardly the things from which our civilization has been made.

To be sure, we may say the Dutchman has taught us to be thrifty, to establish shipping, to build railroads, and, as some one has said, to import Dutchmen and export duchesses; but with all the fortunes that have been amassed by Dutchmen here, there has not been that distribution of wealth that has put its impress on the great development of this country's life.

As far as money is concerned, its colleges, such as Rutgers, and its seminaries, such as New Brunswick, might have been made magnificent educational institutions, equipped for all the work of this century in which we live, but no Dutch fortune has ever been given to them.

As far as endowment is concerned, the Collegiate Churches of New York might have done great things for the city in which they are placed. But however the money came to them, it brought with it no spirit of impressive and aggressive work. It is other churches rather which

have laid hold of the city problems and touched with healing hand the city sores.

Also, we might say the Dutchman has taught us to be religious, to value theology for what it teaches us about God, and to take its teaching into life.

Well, he has certainly taught us a tremendous theology, a theology that was in no sense a borrowed one, but one that was born out of his own national life and was part of his own personal living—a theology that was not a doctrinal theology such as it was in Germany, but a practical theology, because it was a political one that swung around the problem of his country's life—a theology that was not manipulated by a single man or by a single set of men, as it was elsewhere, but one that welled up from the common life of the common people, unmanipulated by anything under heaven save the hearts and consciences of the common folk.

All this is true; but it is also true that with all the free field that such theology has had in this land of ours, the spirit of confessional conservatism which it has come to assume is not that which has marked the great advances that doctrinal thinking has made among us.

I hold no brief for a radical freedom of religious ideas, but I am free to say that the best conservatism is that which has been constructive in its life, and the truest confessionalism is that which has been evangelistic in its service, and the record of Dutch theology here has not moved in these directions.

At both these points of wealth and doctrine the Dutchman made his struggle long ago and won his fight; but

the task of the great outworking of what he won—I will not say that he has lost its opportunity, but I will say it is yet before him.

May he be yet successful in its accomplishment, for after all he has given us great things without which we would be far worse off to-day than we care to think.

THE DUTCHMAN AGAIN

REV. PROF. M. W. JACOBUS, D.D.



T a gathering of this honored Society not long ago, your courtesy gave me the privilege of speaking to you of my countrymen in their early and somewhat unsuccessful efforts to make this continent Dutch.

I found the best thing I could do was gracefully to admit the failures of the undertaking, saying myself whatever of uncomplimentary nature there was to say about my forbears, while I reserved for them a few bits of self-suggested praise, just to render the confession a little easier of utterance.

Our host has kindly suggested that I might speak on the same theme again, doubtless with the idea that I might thus have the chance, either to prove that what I had confessed to really was not true, or at least to disclose the fact that it really was. In either way of looking at it, I found myself, as a Dutchman might be expected to find himself, phlegmatically enthused, and have wondered how, under this what I might venture to call gross expectancy of the truth, I was going to be able to tell any truth at all.

Naturally I went to John Fiske for comfort—and discovered that the facts behind my confessions were emphasized and that there was little to add to those that underlay the praise I had hazarded upon the people from whom I had come. So I am going to address myself to doing the only thing left to me to do—a thing that the lawyer sometimes does to start with and the theologian sometimes does to end with—I am going to try to account for the facts.

When good old Peter Stuyvesant, following up the incident of the *San Berninio* in New Haven Bay, made proclamation that New Netherland extended from Cape Henlopen to Cape Cod, he doubtless considered it as just judgment on the New Englanders for their commercial impudence in ignoring his laws of trade and as a wise stroke of policy for his own West India Company.

But when later in the year he made his historic journey to Hartford and saw the prosperity and the strength of the townships along the Sound, he was far too intelligent a soldier to delude himself with the idea that his proclamation could ever be carried out and far too wise a one to decline the opportunity of a safe retreat from his untenable position.

So it came that while his conference with the Federal Commissioners at Hartford began with a complacent dating of his statement at "Hartford in New Netherland," it ended with the signing of the famous Hartford Treaty—in which all claim to New England territory was practically abandoned, the boundary line receding from Cape Cod to Greenwich Bay on the mainland, and on Long Island to Oyster Bay—where Dutch persistency in our own day and administration seems to have laid down several sheet anchors and to have succeeded in raising over them a sweet consistency of storm—from which the rest of us will have to get out the best we can.

Now the strange thing about this altogether wise agreement is that Stuyvesant never said anything about it to the Burghers of New Amsterdam. In his report to his Company, the Governor withheld the text of the treaty—

and though it was signed on the 19th of September, it was not until late in November that news of its provisions reached them—and though it was in the year of our Lord 1650 that it was sealed and delivered here on the banks of the Connecticut, it was not until six years later that an authoritative copy got to Holland and in a consciousness of the inevitable was ratified by the States General. But it was not so strange after all. This was but an instance of the general spirit that then possessed the Dutch Colonies in this land and the Dutch Nation at home,—a spirit of commercial complacency that, unconscious of facts, made them hesitate at no bravado, and when conscious of them compelled to nerveless concessions that were not pleasant things to acknowledge publicly or to have authoritatively confirmed. A few years later and the English ships of Nicolls appeared before New Amsterdam and, though the doughty Governor stormed and raged, the white flag finally flew from the ramshackle fort and the rule of the Dutch in America—a rule which had found small care from the colonists themselves, and less protection from the Government at home—came to an end.

And now in our own day the drama has been repeated in South Africa and again a great assertion of rights has ended with whatever brave resistance in surrender and retreat.

It is of no small interest, in these commercial days of ours, to ask how it came that over those old patriots of the Land of the Dykes—those old heroes of Haarlem and Leyden—there came the spirit of such things as we have spoken of. I am quite willing to admit that neither at

New Amsterdam nor at Johannesburg was the question of religious liberty at stake, but from those who had maintained this liberty at such cost, as the League of Beggars had done, we would expect a different showing when liberties even of other kinds were in question. May I say that the love of liberty and the love of trade are never likely to live together and maintain themselves in equal power. The love of liberty being of the soul and the love of trade being of the body, they must not only beget a different line of conduct and breed a different cast of character, but in some subtle way the development of the one must bring about the atrophy of the other. For the love of liberty demands a devotion which is of the essence of unselfishness, and the love of trade demands a devotion which is of the opposite, and these two cannot equally grow and thrive.

To the love of liberty the burghers of the 16th century had given themselves with a passion that stayed at no sacrifice and stopped at no defeat, a passion that shot across the channel and drawing to itself a kindred spirit swept it across the seas to our own land. But with the breaking of the Spanish power the spirit of commerce (which at Amsterdam as at Venice had made the Inquisition impossible of importation) had found the seas its own and the far East lands of spices and silks at its feet, and the new Western world open before it for its gain. So the spirit which had been its bulwark against religious conquest came in turn to be the power behind a conquest of its own which was as selfish as its defense against the

other conquest had been self-sacrificing unto death. And if we ask why selfishness should not have maintained in the colonies the commercial position which had already been secured, our only answer is that the selfishness of the Home Government left the Colonies to themselves, and that the selfishness of the Colonies never rose above the individual's contentment with whatever rule would leave him freedom of trade. And yet in spite of all this, your Excellency, I claim from my forbears an influence on our civilization that is noble as it is real—not the influence of free education of the people, for this came from Geneva rather than from Delft Haven; nor the influence of free government by the people, for this was present in other countries than Holland before it settled itself in the town meetings of New England. I look back to the Netherlands to find, at a time when other countries were lands of feudal lords and in their productiveness naught but undeveloped farms, a national consciousness of the nobility of labor that made that little country the workshop of the world. And I look back to find yet more at a time when, in the countries from which we have most derived our national stock, religion was still a thing of state and politics, a consciousness of the dignity of the individual's relation to his God that made her land an asylum to the persecuted and her faith a strength to those who knew what conscience meant in the conduct of the soul.

I wish she had maintained this conscience unsullied and unweakened through the years. I wish in these days we might have fresh blowings on us of those pure winds that

once swept over her, that we might be minded to drink again of those pure fountains she held up to us in those old days. For we need—never more than now—to know how noble labor can be and never more than now do we need to know what conscience means towards God and man.

THE PILGRIM

REV. JOHN CALVIN GODDARD



IN discussing this subject one soon discovers that it has as many legendary layers as an onion, some of them as rank. One lands at Plymouth under the inspiration of

“The breaking waves dashed high,
On a stern and rock-bound coast,”

though, for anything one can detect, a more appropriate couplet would be that from the Walrus and the Carpenter,

“They wept like anything to see
Such quantities of *sand*.”

I saw the famous rock that Mary Chilton jumped upon with both feet, and I saw the crack, but in that immediate vicinity it is the only bit of stern and rock-bound coast visible to the naked eye. Furthermore, after going around among New England homes and tabulating all the cedar chests, cradles, rush-bottomed chairs, spinets, and spinning jennies alleged to have been brought over in the Mayflower, one soon will total enough to load a Great Eastern, and will begin to doubt whether the modest capacity of a hundred and eighty tons usually credited to that gallant vessel has been correctly reported. Again, we are told by those who are competent to know that the captain originally steered for New Amsterdam, but that the needle was providentially deflected toward Cape Cod by reason of the cook's chopping wood for the galley fire on the north side of the compass, which seems to be one more of those little

hatchet stories that serve a useful purpose in our early annals.

We are told that the Pilgrims loved long sermons. It is true that Elder Brewster on the Mayflower preached three sermons a day. He had his congregation where they could not get away. They had never heard of that parliamentary rule prevailing in South Africa which decreed that a man should speak in public no longer than he could stand on one foot. You and I may like this one-foot rule applied to speeches, but they would have regarded it as a heathen practice, for the fathers had for ministerial prolixity that Corinthian virtue which suffereth long and is kind.

A popular charge brought against the Pilgrim is that he was austere:

“No children ran to lisp their sire’s return,
Nor climbed his knee the envied kiss to share.”

The fact is admitted; he did not wear his heart upon his sleeve, and he is not alone in it. The Highlander never tells his wife he loves her until he is dying. In the Gaelic language there are said to be fifty synonyms of the word “darling”; the Puritan did not understand Gaelic. They were familiar, rather, with the Dutch form of marriage service, which began with the sombre declaration, “Whereas married people are generally, by reason of sin, subject to many trials and afflictions.” Governor Bradford stopped a party of newcomers from playing ball on Christmas Day, and when they remonstrated, saying it was against their conscience to work on Christmas, he retorted that it was against *his* conscience for them to play while

others worked. Macaulay has contributed to the general charge of austerity by his famous epigram, that the Puritan hated bear-baiting, not because it gave pain to the bear, but because it gave pleasure to the spectator.

That reminds me of the boy, Patrick Murphy, who was given an example in arithmetic. The teacher said: "One horse starts a mile ahead. The other runs a mile ten seconds faster than the first horse. How soon will the second horse overtake the first?" Patrick replied: "I will never have anything to do with horse-racing!"

While he was austere, there was reason for it. If you and I had neither post-office, magazine, nor newspaper, and had to take our intellectual pabulum for a whole week out of the sermon, theology would be our happy hunting ground. We must remember that to him heaven was far away, the problem of life being how to get to it; but to us the problem of life is far better stated as how to make heaven begin below, how to live in the present tenses of the blessed life.

There are certain circumstances that gave color to his austerity, that would have done so in our own case. One of these was the woods; he lived in the Black Forest. Those of you who have read Stanley's *March through Darkest Africa* will remember the stampede that ensued as they approached the grasslands, and the exultant shout that went up as they emerged from the forests. Well, the Puritan could hardly be expected to shout until *he* got out of the woods; it took a long time to clear them. A second circumstance was his ever-present sense of peril. "He thought of the bloody savages that lurked all round

about; of Wituwamet's pictured knife and Pecksuot's whooping shout." It was a Pilgrim divine who preached on the perils of youth as illustrated by Moses. "A goodly child," said he, "but placed by his parents where he was surrounded by the fang of the serpent, the claw of the vulture, the jaw of the alligator, and the tooth of the hippopotamus." Then the stern realities of life oppressed him; money was scarce, markets uncertain, produce scanty. If the farmers of to-day were shut up to the thin soil of Eastern Massachusetts, to poor tools and meager seed, not so jocund would they drive their teams afield. These things were enough to make him austere; they would make gayety itself austere. In other words, if the same causes were operative now, we would be austere.

Sometimes the charge of witch-hunting is brought against the Pilgrim. It is a grievous charge, and grievously hath Cæsar answered it. General Horace Porter, at a New England banquet, once said: "The Pilgrims were kept busy keeping the Indians under fire and the witches over it." He hath a pretty wit and we will concede him all the liberty that goes with after-dinner speaking, but after all, there was not a single witch burned in all New England. Those who lost their lives lost them by the humane gallows.

As to witch-hunting, all things are comparative. In Virginia more witches were sentenced to death than in all New England; yet, somehow, the reproach never clung to the Cavalier as to the Puritan, perhaps because the world expects less of him. It is calculated that in England thirty thousand witches lost their lives, in France, seventy-

five thousand, in Germany a hundred thousand. If the Salem delusion be laid up against the wisdom and piety of our New England ancestors, I answer that in Great Britain the most eminent and humane judge of the age, Sir Matthew Hale, sentenced many a witch to death; and the gentle and learned Sir Thomas Brown, M.D., the author of *Religio Medici*, was the court's expert medical advisor. In other words, the Puritan in this matter was not behind his age, he was merely a part of it.

Moreover, the delusion lasted for a shorter period with him than with others. It was over in 1693, a short year, by which time the Court of Oyer and Terminer refused to receive spectral evidence, and two hundred persons were released, the greatest jail delivery ever known in Massachusetts. How was it elsewhere? Witches were hung in England for twenty-three years after that practice stopped in Massachusetts; in Scotland for twenty-seven years after. As late as 1805, 112 years after the Salem delusion, a witch was condemned to a year's imprisonment in Kirkcudbright, Scotland. The truth is that New England, instead of being at the foot of the class, is at the top, and has the best, sanest, most humane record on the witch question of any locality in Saxondom.

The Pilgrim mothers were not lost in the census, but, like the daughters of Zelophedad, had rights which were respected. To begin with, they were not so indifferent to dress as one might suppose, nor was their adornment altogether that of the hidden man of the heart. It seems to have had some reference to the outward man of the gallery. The Reverend Francis Johnson, of Amsterdam, had mar-

ried a widow whom his family disliked, and especially his brother George. George held that she dressed too fashionably, though how anyone could regard *Dutch* fashions as bewitching and dangerous to the soul does not appear; at any rate he was particularly grieved because she wore "whalebone in her dresses and cork on her soles." All of which goes to show both that George had an observing eye and that criticism of ministers' wives on the subject of dress began early.

But the mothers had all the higher graces of their kind as well. The courtship of John Alden is a golden chapter in Pilgrim annals, and literature is enriched for all ages by the demure tact of Priscilla Mullins. Priscilla's ability at fencing was matched, we are told, by another Pilgrim maid, to whom said a cautious man: "If I should ask you to become my wife, would you say Yes?" Said the equally cautious woman to the cautious man: "If you thought I would say Yes, would you ask me to become your wife?" A fine romance was that of Alice Southworth's meeting, after many years of separation, one who had loved her in youth, and so becoming Mrs. Governor Bradford. To give a later example, where will one find in any book a more perfect love match than that of Jonathan Edwards and Sarah Pierpont, or a more beautiful and touching description by a lover than his? It is approached only by a still later Pilgrim lover, James Russell Lowell, in his ode beginning, "Not as all other women are."

The mothers were powerful executives in the domain of woman's kingdom, the home. You will not find in New England history any account of bringing ladies over in

shiploads, as were told in the Virginia or the Hudson Bay records. You will not find such entries as these: "Received per ship 'Osprey,' Jane Goody, in good condition," or "Received, Matilda Tillings. Returned in the 'Lapwing' for not being in accordance with description contained in invoice." We read of Abigail that "she was a woman of good understanding." She understood how to deal with men, giving them a little flattery and a good deal of something to eat. For, as Solomon said, or would have said if he had not been distracted by domestic affairs, "Man's affections may be won by flattery, but are to be retained by cookery." Their cookery was such that the General Court of Massachusetts passed a law in 1724 directed against excessive eating at funerals. They were the responsible authors, too, of that New England virtue sometimes known as "pizen neatness." It was in their blood to begin with and always has been. It is related of the English ladies besieged at Lucknow that, precious as every drop of water was, they nevertheless saved a few dashes for use upon their faces. Thirst was easier to bear than untidiness. Now, on top of that trait by nature, the mothers had a Dutch training, and, according to the Knickerbocker historian, the Dutch women lived so much upon floors deluged by mop pails that certain of them became web-footed. The result of this Saxon and Dutch training can be readily imagined. It is stated that a New Englander, having the misfortune to fail in business, came home and announced it to his wife in the words, "Martha, I'm ruined; the wolf is at the

door." "Is he?" replied Martha; "tell him to wipe his feet."

The last criticism to be mentioned is the alleged philistinism of the Pilgrim, his indifference to beauty. Yet one cannot say that he was wholly lacking in artistic sensibility. The children born at sea were named as by inspiration Oceanus and Seaborn. We are indebted to them for the retention of so many noble and stately Indian names, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Narragansett, Quinnipiac, Monadnock. And, a people who founded Harvard in 1636, and Boston Latin School four years before that, can hardly be termed indifferent to "the humanities."

Yet, in estimating the Puritan at this point one may well be reminded of Anchises' noble but discriminating tribute to the Romans:

"Others, I grant you, shall with more delicacy mould the breathing brass; from marble draw the features into life; shall better describe with rod the beginnings and courses of the heavens, and speak of the rising stars. Be it thy care, O Romans, to rule nations with imperial sway, to impose terms of peace, to spare the humble, and to crush the proud."

The Roman might lack in delicacy; he abounded in strength. Even so the Pilgrim. And it is strength that is necessary to the noblest forms of beauty. The feathers of a butterfly's wing and the crystals of snow are beautiful, but the divinest masterpieces are not these ephemeral, evanescent, and elusive forms. They are to be found, rather, in the sinewy form of the oak with verdure clad, in the snowy mass of Hermon, offset with verdure green.

It takes geology plus botany to make the chief things of the ancient mountains and the precious things of the lasting hills. Even so the perfect character must have in it strength plus beauty.

O bury him in no common grave, this man of rapture and of rock! This prophet of mystic eyes! This knight who feared God and none other! Bury him beneath the boulder, within the heart of the mountains, on the sides of the north, facing the winter that he braved, facing the polar star, emblem of his own Christocentric polarity that had neither variableness nor shadow of turning, even as they buried that other pilgrim, that soldier of the Lord, Joshua the son of Nun, in Timnath-Serah, in the border of his inheritance, on the north side of the hill Gaash.

“The knight’s bones are dust,
And his good sword rust;—
His soul is with the Saints, I trust.”

GENERAL ROBERT SEDGWICK

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THE material which I have used in the preparation of this paper is not new, though it has been for myself but recently sought out. It has to do with the career of one of the martial leaders of an early generation of our New England history. He was a man of good training, and as it often seemed, of excellent opportunity; in his English home and in the colonies of the western world he had experience of military service; he gained the friendship of the ruler of England and was commissioned by him for important duties; on this side of the ocean he had the esteem not alone of his friends and neighbors but also of strangers whom he was set to govern; if he failed sometimes to accomplish the result at which he aimed, it was because fortune snatched the opportunity from him or because matters took such a turn that no one could possibly succeed; and if he died away from home and friends, a broken-hearted man, he died trying to do his duty and to serve his generation.

Robert Sedgwick, a member of the Artillery Company in London, came to Charlestown, Massachusetts, in 1635, being not far from twenty years of age. He was successful in business, associated with the younger Winthrop in the establishment of iron works, a deputy to the Great and General Court, one of the founders of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, Commander of the Castle, a member of the Council of War, and finally Major-General of the Massachusetts militia.

His neighbor, Captain Edward Johnson, in "The

Wonder-Working Providence of Sion's Saviour in New England," a book which, we are told, "best epitomizes the Puritan philosophy," gives us this account of the man and of his skill:

"The first Serjeant Major chosen to order the regiment of Essex was Major Robert Sedgwick, stout and active in all feats of war, nurst up in London's Artillery garden, and furthered with fifteen years experience in New England's exact theory, besides the help of a very good head piece, being a frequent instructor of the most martial troops of our Artillery men; and although Charles Town (which is the place of his own companies residence) do not advantage such o're-topping batteries as Boston doth, yet hath he erected his to very good purpose, insomuch as all shipping that comes in, either to Boston or Charles Town, must needs face it all the time of their coming in; the cost he hath been at, in helping on the Discipline of his Regiment, hath profited much." *

In 1652, Robert Sedgwick was still in Massachusetts, holding the title of Major-General. Soon after this, however, he returned to England; and about the same time, or possibly with him, went a man whose name was for a while associated with his in affairs of war and who became his son-in-law, John Leverett, son of the ruling elder of the Boston Church, himself a Captain of the Colony's forces. Their reputation may have preceded them, and may in fact have been the reason why they crossed the ocean to the home-country; at any rate, their merit was soon discovered by Cromwell; they gained his friendship, and served as officers in the army of the Commonwealth.†

But the Protector soon had pressing duties which he

* Book ii. c. 26, quoted by Fiske, *Beginnings of New England*, p. 305.

† Palfrey, *History of New England*, ii. 284, sqq.

wished to have these men undertake in the new world, and they were sent back, charged with a special responsibility. To understand the immediate purpose of their return, its failure, and what of success followed, it will be necessary to go back a little in the history.*

By the so-called Treaty of Hartford, September 19, 1650, Peter Stuyvesant, Director of New Amsterdam, had abandoned on behalf of the Dutch all the claim which had been pretentiously put forth to New England territory. He had seen enough on his journey to satisfy him that the settlers in New Haven and Connecticut could never be dislodged; and he knew, moreover, that if they were disturbed, he would be obliged to reckon with the force which the other two of the United Colonies, Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth, were ready to send against him. So after his "bluff," as we should call it, of dating from New Netherlands a letter written in Hartford, and his consent, when a reply to the letter was refused, to write as from "Connecticott," he agreed with the English to leave the matter of the boundaries between his jurisdiction and theirs to four arbiters. As the English naturally appointed two of their own people, and Stuyvesant also most unnaturally appointed two Englishmen (though one of them, to be sure, was his own secretary), a decision was easily reached. It was agreed that on the main land the boundary line of the governments should keep ten miles away from Henry Hudson's river, coming to the Sound east of Greenwich Bay, and that on Long Island it should run across to the ocean from Oyster Bay; while in the neighborhood of

* See Fiske, *Dutch and Quaker Colonies*, i. 299, sqq.

Hartford the Dutch were to hold jurisdiction over all that they actually possessed, a phrase which could be easily interpreted to mean nothing. In the summer of 1652, less than two years after this agreement was made and perhaps after Sedgwick and Leverett had crossed the Atlantic, the first war between England and the Dutch Republic broke out. Fear was naturally felt for the safety of New Amsterdam; and the city was fortified by the palisado wall that gave name to the street on which are now controlled the financial affairs of a continent. Even with this defence, the Director was not minded to hasten an outbreak of hostilities with the colonies to the east; but there seemed to be reason for believing that he was prepared, if Manhattan should be attacked by the English, to call in the assistance of such of the Indians as he could reach and trust. And indeed he had reason to be troubled; for John Underhill, who had once been "the savior of New Netherlands," was now in revolt against him and had accepted something like letters of marque from the Providence Plantations. Under color of these he had sailed up the Connecticut river to the abandoned House of Good Hope, had claimed to confiscate it to the Connecticut government, and then selling it had appropriated the proceeds. The General Court in the next year, we may note in passing, calmly took possession of the property as belonging to the Colony; and the Dutch were left no shadow of a claim on the banks of the river or in its neighborhood. Stuyvesant had cause, as was said, to be alarmed, and fully as much were the settlements in New Haven and Connecticut colonies dis-

turbed at the possibility of an attack from savage Indians under the guise of war; and they proposed to call out the forces of the New England Confederacy for an attack on the Dutch. But Massachusetts, farther from New Amsterdam and in no special fear of the Indians, but rather disposed to look upon them as possible allies and defenders, perhaps at this time more impartial in its judgment of affairs, and certainly as the event showed more practically prudent, was averse to active opposition. The men of our colonies became impatient and excited; there was hard talk at New Haven and Hartford about the men of Boston, armed men assembled in Fairfield and Stamford, and there was danger that the confederacy of the Colonies would be dissolved. An appeal was sent across the ocean to Cromwell, strengthened as it would seem by a rumor of a plot for the destruction of all the English colonists; the agents of our Colonies at the court pressed their case; and on the 8th of February, 1653-4, instructions were issued to "Major Robert Sedgwicke, commander of the Blacke Raven, and Captaine John Leverett, whoe is joined with him," to take charge of a fleet of four vessels, the Black Raven, Hope, Church, and Augustine, and sail for the United Colonies with letters to the governors. They were, so read their instructions, to give "intimation to them" of their "arivall and expectation of a suddayne Answer to the contents of the said letters." The document proceeds: "If upon return from them you fynde an inclination and readynys in them to joyne in the present undertaking for vindicating the English right and extirpating the Dutch, you are without neglect of any opportunitie to

address yourselves to the worke by ordering the ships for the Manhatts, and taking care that the soldgers from the Collonyes may by a land march meet them there or be taken into the ships as by advice may be judged most advantageous. You being comed to the Manhatts, you shall by way of surprize, open force, or otherwise, as you by a counsell of war consisting of the commanders of the ships and armie shall judge most conducing to that end, endeavour to take in that place in the name of the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England Scotland and Ireland for the use of the said Commonwealth. And you have power to promise and give them faire quarter in case it be rendered upon summons without hostile opposition; the like alsoe you shall do to the fort of Auranea or any other place upon Hodson's river."*

There is a state paper under date of the 11th of February which speaks of the necessity of procuring masts for the ships after they should cross the ocean; it enumerates "hose, serges, cloth, rugs, blankets, bolsters, stuffs, iron-ware," among the goods to be sent to New England for the account of the Commonwealth, and to be disposed of that masts might be purchased.

It was not far from the first day of June when the little fleet arrived in Boston, and some time elapsed before the soldiers were collected for the campaign. The four ships brought 200 men, Connecticut raised as many more, and New Haven two-thirds as many, to accompany them; Massachusetts would send no part of her forces, but she allowed 300 men to enlist as volunteers; while Plymouth

* *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, IV. ii. pp. 32, 230.

promised 50 men, but did not send them. In all there were 833 under arms on the three vessels, a small enough army, one would think, but doubtless so strong a force that had a conflict taken place the Dutch must have been overcome. But alas for dreams of heroic exploit and military glory, and the hope that these brave men might secure for the English the town and fortress at the mouth of Hudson's River! Just as the fleet was to sail from Boston, on a day late in June or early in July, 1654, tidings came from across the sea that the Lord Protector and their High Mightinesses of Holland had made peace and that there was no further justification for hostilities. New Amsterdam remained in the hands of the Dutch for ten years longer, and in 1664 was surrendered to Colonel Richard Nicholls, who had been appointed governor of the place under the claims of the Duke of York; so that the glory, such as it was, of the final transfer did not accrue to the Massachusetts Major and Captain whose fortunes we are tracing.

It appears, however, that Sedgwick and Leverett had received from the Protector other instructions than to carry out, if they could, the wishes of the southern New England Colonies in defending them against the Dutch and weakening or destroying the power of the New Netherlands. England was not then formally at war with France; but the force which seemingly and in all probability really had been prepared against New Amsterdam, now that it could not be used for that purpose, was led against the French settlements in Acadia.* La Tour, who

* Palfrey, ii. 285.

had kept up in that land a conflict with D'Aulnay, petty but not without its romantic side, after a chequered succession of loss of royal favor and return to it, which probably meant of loyalty and disloyalty to Louis XIV., had incurred anew a suspicion that he was intriguing with the English. He had indeed done something to strengthen himself by taking to wife the widow of his rival, thus quieting her claims and becoming responsible for the care of her children; but it was only the appearance of Sedgwick's fleet which saved him from being called sharply to account. England, or rather Scotland, had a standing claim to the land, which James I. had granted to Sir William Alexander as a fief of his former crown under the name of Nova Scotia; and the home authorities apparently felt at liberty to attempt the enforcement of this claim whenever they might find it convenient. Cromwell had evidently foreseen that the four ships which he had sent to New England, and the eight hundred or a thousand men whom they were expected to carry, might want for employment; and, as is quite evident, he had bidden them see, if the opportunity should be offered, what they could do in Acadia. There is a clause in the instructions which appears to have been intended to mean this; those in charge were "to proceed to the gaining in any other places from the Enemie which upon advice with a counsell of war may be judged feizable and conducing to the settlement of the peace and saiftye of the English plantations." And in some way the need of masts was given as a reason for the expedition; for a report to the Navy Committee, dated July 1, 1654, says that "masts

not being ready, it was thought good to turn their design against the French."* In that direction, therefore, Sedgwick sailed from Boston; and the attack of his fleet upon the French settlements led to a speedy victory. St. John was soon captured; Port Royal surrendered on the 16th of August without resistance; and the country from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the Penobscot became once more Nova Scotia, subject to the protectorate of England and Scotland.

Thus by little labor an important action was accomplished. We do not know what reward Sedgwick received for his services; Leverett presented a bill of twenty shillings a day for the two years in which he had been on duty, and was promised three-quarters of what he asked; but though he received a note or warrant under the privy seal for the amount due him in 1656 (some £4,750), there was still £4,000 due him at the Restoration.† It was not a great military campaign in which our New Englanders took the lead and for which our colonies furnished most of the men; but its result was certainly creditable to those who engaged in it, and for the welfare of the state.

It was in the next year, 1655, that Jamaica, by a sort of accident, fell into the hands of the English. Some sixty years before, in 1596, during the alliance between Queen Elizabeth and the government of the Low Countries and the consequent war with Spain, Admiral Shirley had invaded the island, but he had not attempted to occupy it. Later, under Charles I., Col. Jackson had defeated

* Hazard, ii. 150.

† Palfrey, ii. 388, note.

the inhabitants at Passage Fort, but apparently he also had not cared to take advantage of his success. Jamaica, indeed, was not at this time considered as a place of much importance. Its territory was a private estate, divided into eight districts in the nominal possession of eight noble families, and the total population was about three thousand persons, most of whom were slaves of the few proprietors. The natives had been practically exterminated; but there were some descendants of slaves called Maroons who had fled to the mountains and were still able to make trouble.*

Now Cromwell, who as we have seen had just despoiled France of a province, had determined that it was for the interests of England to make that country its friend and to strike a blow against Spain.† His action was professedly by way of reprisal for acts of hostility and rapine committed in America or its islands, and it was to be undertaken on that side of the ocean on which the offence had been committed; and practically it would be a denunciation of war. He fitted out an expedition under two admirals, Venables and Penn, and gave them a secret commission to attack and capture Cuba and San Domingo. They found themselves unable to carry out their instructions or indeed to take either of the islands; and, says an historian, in words which may partially explain what must be presently said, "the failure may be ascribed as much to treacherous behavior of the persons commissioned by Oliver in the equipment as to the injudicious choice and bad execution of the officers and men by whom it was conducted. The soldiers were for the most part the refuse

* *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, *sub voce*.

† [Edward Long,] *History of Jamaica*, i. 220, sqq.

of the whole army; and the forces enlisted in the West Indies were the most profligate of mankind." And again he tells us of the men collected, whether as soldiers or as settlers, at Barbados and the other small islands, that they were "chiefly servants who had worked out the terms of their indentures and had derived very little morality or decency from their education, sphere of life, or habitual practices." But the admirals were determined to be able to report that they had done something, and they fell upon the defenceless island which lay between the two that they had been bidden to attack, and readily captured it; their own men were not brave, but they were less cowardly than the few Spaniards who came out against them. The forces arrived off Port Caqua (now Port Royal) on the 9th day of May, and within two days they made themselves masters of the island, and gave to its history the only event worth recording since its discovery in 1494 and its occupation by the Spaniards in 1509. The admirals presently returned to England to report what they had done and had not done, and were promptly and properly sent to the Tower. The army, such as it was, was left behind.

But though the island had not been wanted, it was necessary, now that it had come under English sway, that it should be guarded and kept. The soldiers had demolished churches and houses and ravaged the plantations, and had made preparations for many years of want and suffering, and for this reason there was all the more need that the few respectable inhabitants should have the privileges of government and care.

For this duty and labor Robert Sedgwick, who had returned to New England after his capture of Acadia, was designated. He sailed from Plymouth in the *Marmaduke*

on the 11th day of July.* From Barbados Road he wrote to the Navy Commissioners on the 6th day of September that God had been pleased to smile on the squadron in a very comfortable passage, and that he had arrived with all the ships, we are not told how many, some days before. When he wrote he had heard "no news from the leeward save what they heard by a dogger boat after the repulse at Hispaniola," and he was about to set sail for Jamaica by order of "General" Penn, intending to touch at St. Christopher's in order to inquire after friends. "I hope," he added, "God hath brought down our confident spirits to fill us for some more noble work. When flesh begins to glory, it is a mercy if God will stain the glory of it." Besides, he thought that what had happened might not be altogether a disciplinary providence: "Many think Jamaica a more considerable island than Hispaniola, and that it may effect more than the other." Then, noting that he found both soldiers and seamen active and willing and not discouraged, and therefore hoped God had yet a blessing for them, and that their design was His and that He would own it, Sedgwick came down to earthly things and expressed his desire that those to whom he was writing would "thank their honest brewer for supplying such good beer," and that on account of this his good service he would "find mercy for former offences."

On the same day Captain William Godfrey wrote from Carlisle Bay, Barbados, that "Major General" Sedgwick had taken in a supply of provisions for the army, and was intending to sail that day for St. Christo-

* *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, addenda, 1574-1674, 221, etc.*

pher's and, if there he should have no word of the fleet, to proceed to Jamaica. Thirteen days later he was still there but intending to sail that day for San Domingo and Jamaica according to instructions from General Penn. Something, however, must have detained him longer; for we learn from a letter of his own that he did not arrive at Jamaica with his squadron until the first day of October. He found the army which had been left there less than six months before suffering from dysentery and in lack of everything. Fortescue, who in the absence of the admirals had been in chief command, had made application for "cloathing, smiths, and carpenters, tools, bread, oatmeal, brandy, arms and ammunition, medicines, and other necessaries"; but if any of these useful things had arrived, they had not been well cared for and used.* Thus Sedgwick wrote: "For the army, I found them in as sad, deplorable, and distracted a condition as can be thought of. As to the commanders, some have quitted the islands, some have died, some are sick, and others in indifferent health; of the soldiers, many are dead; and their carcasses are lying unburied every where in the highways and among the bushes. Many that are alive appear as ghosts; and as I went through the town, they lay groaning and crying out, 'Bread, for the Lord's sake!' The truth is, when I first set my foot on land, I saw nothing but symptoms of necessity and desolation. I found the shore strewed with variety of casks, hogsheads, puncheons, barrels, chests, and the like, and several dry goods belonging to the state, such as linens, shirts and drawers, shoes, stockings, hats,

* *Calendar, ut supra*, 222, 223.

armour, arms, and nails, with many other things, lying without any shelter, exposed to all the damage that sun or rain could do to them, and to the theft or rapine of either soldiers or strangers, who without question embezzled most of them." Moreover, he found that the soldiers, evidently the tractable part of them, were most unwilling to be settled where they were, and hoped that the Protector would weary of his design and abandon the island.*

In the same month of October a regiment commanded by Col. Humphrey had arrived, having 831 young healthy able-bodied men; in less than a month fifty of their number, including five officers, had been buried; Fortescue also had died. "Jesuits' bark" was unknown then, and the remedy applied for malaria and dysentery was bleeding, which, we are told, not much to our surprise, "seldom failed of making the complaint more obstinate, if not mortal."

On the 14th of November, Sedgwick wrote to the Commissioners of the Admiralty, first describing the desolate condition of things in words such as those just quoted, and then making this report of his action in one matter of importance: "As to the wines arrived in Capt. Crowden's ship, I have disposed of 60 butts to the army and 170 to the fleet; the fleet had no need of them, but how to dispose of them better we knew not." Then he fell to moralizing: "What God will do with us here I cannot tell. He at present seems highly displeased, and shatters and breaks us to pieces, and in destroying goes on to destroy us, but I hope will spare and pity a poor

* Long, i. 244, 245.

simple people." Then he tells how the conduct of soldiers and sailors distressed him. "This kind of marooning, cruising, West India trade of plundering and burning of towns, though it hath been long practised in these parts, yet is not honourable for a princely navy, neither was it I think the work designed, though even if it may be tolerated at present." And for himself, though he had built a house and was at work on a fort at the harbor's mouth, he begs that his recall may be hastened, his constitution, as he puts it, not agreeing well with this climate, which he fears he shall not long trouble. In another letter written the same day, he tells of the terrible sickness and loss of life by the flux, saying that since his arrival 700 men had been laid in their graves and that the greater part of those who survived were sick.*

In another communication Sedgwick tells of the ravages committed in the island by the English soldiers. They have killed, he says, 20,000 head of cattle, and destroyed all the fruit and provision that came to their hand: "nothing but ruin attends them wherever they go. The army claim all the ground about the town; so that there is great difficulty to accommodate five or six poor planters with a little land. The men desire either to be employed in arms, or sent home again; dig or plant they will not, but would rather starve than work." And we have further testimony to the same effect from the Vice-Admiral: "They will not now be persuaded to do any thing toward their bellies or their security, except to fetch provender for the magazine; so that if the magazine fails, they must

* *Calendar*, 236.

inevitably perish. For the cattle, such of them as were left in any degree tame have all been killed; few or none are left; and some regiments have tasted no flesh for a long time, except that of horses, dogs, cats, and the like.”*

Again, Sedgwick writes to Thurloe: “There are two things principally enjoined by his Highness to the army, fortification and planting. Should I give you a character of the dispositions and qualifications of our army in general (some few particulars excepted), I profess my head would grieve to write, as it doth to think of them. I believe they are not to be paralleled in the world; a people so lazy and idle, as it cannot enter into the heart of any Englishman, that such blood should run in the veins of any born in England; so unworthy, slothful, and basely secure; and have out of a strange sort of spirit, desired rather to die than live. The commanders and officers allege that the soldiers will not plant, when it is certain they are not willing the soldiers should plant, but still stand gaping to go off the island, as after a gaol-delivery, and you may be confident there will be little done in that way by this sort of people. Such kind of spirit breathing in Englishmen I yet till now never met with!”†

Such was the condition of things with the few inhabitants left on the island, some 2,500 soldiers, who might have been effective if they could have been kept from sickness and idleness, and the small body of men who had come with the general from New England; and such was the report of affairs which reached the home authorities. “The Protector,” says the somewhat cynical historian of

* Long, i. 248, 250.

† Long, i. 254, 255.

Jamaica, "rebuked the vices of the soldiers with the solemn air of a rigid divine." He was not inattentive, he confesses, to the welfare of either their souls or their bodies; but he rightly judged that immorality was a principal cause of their utter neglect of both. To attempt an improvement of their condition, seven ministers at different times were sent to live with them and labor among them, but six of these had either fallen in the common mortality or returned, discouraged and broken down, to England.

When Sedgwick came to Jamaica it does not appear that he had any other than his ordinary military authority. In process of time, however, there came from the government in England a document bearing date October 10th, 1655 (O. S.), addressed to Major-General Richard Fortescue, Vice-Admiral William Goodson, Major Robert Sedgwick, Daniel Searle, and ——— Stoakes, under the title of "Commissioners for governing our affairs in Jamaica," the tenor of which is presented in this form. They were "to secure by the best means the interests of this Commonwealth in Jamaica, to endeavor the promulgation of the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ and the power of true religion and holiness, and the suppression of idolatry, popery, superstition, and prophaneness, and to set apart to that purpose from what shall come into their hands upon the public account as they should find necessary. And whereas we are informed of the horrible prophaneness and wickedness of very many of the soldiers and others belonging to the army, whereby the Lord hath been justly provoked to leave us a reproof to our enemy

at Hispaniola," they were "to use endeavors and to bear witness effectually against the same." It was also declared that the government had resolved to use all possible endeavors to people and plant Jamaica, and to that purpose had dispatched Daniel Gookin to New England with instructions to make propositions to those who might be inclined to remove thither, and in fact to urge them to do so, and to conclude agreements with them.*

On the same day, October 10th, instructions were sent to Richard Fortescue, under the title of "Major-General of the forces in America," to fortify especially the harbor of St. Jago. He was reminded that supplies of men and provisions had been sent him at the beginning of July last with Major Robert Sedgwick, and he was bidden to use his power and instructions according to his strength and ability.

When the commission, with its solemn words and its impracticable plans, reached the island, we do not know. It must have been followed soon, apparently in the spring of 1656, by an order to Sedgwick to take "the sole and supreme command." This order from the Protector came to a man "sick of his charge, wearied out with the refractory temper of the army and the unprosperous condition of the colony, and impatient to be recalled pursuant to his repeated applications. So undesirable a pre-ferment"—I am using the words of the historian from whom I have quoted before—"was not more welcome to him than a death warrant. In short, when he reflected on the impossibility of his fulfilling the Protector's inten-

* *Calendar*, 232.

tions with such miserable instruments, of whose unfitness for such a work he was fully sensible after a tedious and irksome experience, and perceived how much the Protector relied upon his single ability, he could not conquer his diffidence, and the chagrin so deeply preyed upon his spirits as to overwhelm him with melancholy.”*

On the 30th of April, Captain William Godfrey wrote from the *Marmaduke* that he was remaining on board the vessel, “conceiving it is merely for the accommodation of Commissioner Sedgwick who hath continued always on board.”† Vice-Admiral William Goodson (who was, it will be remembered, one of the Commissioners appointed in the preceding October), writing home a month later, and complaining of the badness of the bread shipped in old liquor casks, and of the great increase of vermin, and of the lack of carpenters, notes that on the 23d day of May he found Major-General Sedgwick very sick and that on the following day “by the pale hand of death, they were deprived of him”; he adds: “he truly feared God, was of singular use in his work, and was generally beloved by the soldiery.” This latter statement is all the more weighty when we remember how the deceased general had been tried by the conduct of the soldiers and had opposed their indolence and their seditious designs. In fact, he had set himself against the officers as well as the men of the rank and file; for when he and the Vice-Admiral had united in an exhortation to the army, proposing an allotment of land, the officers had opposed the acceptance of the plan. But that he was truly mourned and that his

* Long, i. 257.

† *Calendar*, 256.

memory was honored by those whose slothfulness and neglect had broken down his courage, there can be no doubt. I quote again from the historian: "The general regret which appeared in the fleet and army in consequence of this event was a clear indication of his worth. The honesty of his heart, the mildness of his disposition, his gentleness of manners, and his competence of understanding, qualified him to have been a most amicable governor over any well settled and established colony. But he wanted that severity, firmness, and fire, which were requisite to subdue and awe the stubborn, restive, and insolent spirits that had long distracted the army in Jamaica, and which grew more intractable the less they were controlled with a vigorous discipline."*

Thus his useful life came to an end in a strange land, amidst utter discouragement and every appearance of failure in a work against which he protested, but which he attempted to discharge from a sense of duty. We do well to remember his life with its episodes of service at home and in England, against the Dutch and the French, and finally on behalf of England against some of her sons who were unworthy of her.

Robert Sedgwick's descendants of his name include Theodore Sedgwick, a native of Hartford, statesman and patriot in the time of the Revolution, Speaker of the national House of Representatives and President *pro tempore* of the Senate, and Judge of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts. One of his sons, a lawyer, secured the

* Long, i. 257, 258.

charter for a railroad across the Berkshires, and another, also learned in law, acquired fame as an author, though their sister, Maria, is probably better known to-day than either of her brothers. Theodore Sedgwick of the third generation also held an honored place in the world of jurisprudence and letters. Another descendant, John Sedgwick, who was born in Cornwall in this State in 1813 and was graduated at West Point, served his country faithfully in a campaign against the Indians in Florida, in the Mexican War, and later in the War of the Rebellion; after showing great bravery and inspiring great confidence and affection, he lost his life at Spottsylvania Court House in 1864.

John Leverett, companion and friend of Robert Sedgwick, himself later made a major-general, and Governor of Massachusetts in the time of King Philip's War, married Sarah, General Sedgwick's daughter. Their daughter Ann married John Hubbard, son of Rev. William Hubbard the historian, who was a member of the first class graduated at Harvard College; and their daughter Rebecca married Rev. John Hart, the first person educated at the Collegiate School in Saybrook, now Yale College, who received a degree from it. Thus the line of descent reaches two great Universities and two States of a great Union.

A few words may be added as to the after condition of the island where Sedgwick fell the victim of a broken heart. Cromwell tried in vain to persuade the colonists on the continent to remove to Jamaica. The New Eng-

landers politely but firmly refused to go, giving as their excuse "the prophaneness of the soldiery, the great mortality in the islands, and the continual hazard to the lives of any peaceful settlers there from the skulking negroes and Spaniards." We read of a vote of the English Council to list a thousand girls and as many young men in Ireland to assist in peopling the colony. Then, in 1674, when by a treaty between Charles II. and the States of Holland, the English gave Surinam in exchange for New York, the English planters with their negroes, about 1,200 in all, were removed to Jamaica; twenty-five years later the Scotch settlers on the isthmus of Darien were compelled to leave that place, and a considerable part found new abodes in the same island; and to them were added some settlers from Barbados. Jamaica had a regular government with an elective council, which was established in 1661 and continued more than two centuries, until in 1866 it became a crown colony. But the history has been uneventful, and the island is best known for its place in the commercial world as a source of supply for the fruit markets of colder climes.

ON COLONIAL LITERATURE

PROF. BARRETT WENDELL



THOUGH the literature of those colonial days from which we all spring was copious, it either always lacked or has long since lost the quality which we are pleasantly disposed to associate with copiousness. I hope I do not seem wanting in loyalty to the pious memory of our ancestors when I admit that, after years of experience, I have never found their utterances precisely refreshing. Of course, one may find quaint phrases among them—President Stiles's reflection on assuming the sovereignty of Yale, for example, who held that "at best, the diadem of a President is a crown of thorns." But I grow with the years less and less apt to delight in the unmeant oddities of others, and of other times. You cannot quite understand anything, no doubt, unless you can see the fun of it; but when you take to making fun of it, there begins to arise a question as to whether you can understand it at all. For understanding must mean sympathy.

To sympathize with the two men who attained literary eminence in colonial America—Cotton Mather and Jonathan Edwards—is not easy. One has only to remember how they are commonly spoken of. Cotton Mather has never been quite forgotten, but he is generally supposed to have been a malignant old person whose favorite diversion was the burning of witches. Jonathan Edwards is far more clearly remembered; yet people seem apt to imagine him in a condition of life-long satisfaction over the circumstance that mankind in general—from which group they suppose him to have held himself excluded—

are inevitably bound for damnation; and therefore that the saints may presently take such joy in their writhings as Romans used to take in holidays which earthly saints were occasionally butchered to make. There could be few more unworthy caricatures of either Mather or Edwards; but the caricatures are not mine. They have misshapen themselves in the fancy of unsympathetic posterity.

Posterity is not without some palliative excuse. The times are long past when most native Yankees can share the favorite joy of old John Cotton, who loved to sweeten his mouth with a piece of Calvin before he went to bed. The letter of those old theologies so long ago cooled itself about the spirit that many honest folks can find in them only fantastic monstrosities, hardly more spiritual than the shadowy things you can see for a dollar if you choose to amuse yourself by visiting a materializing medium. The wonder of it is that, beneath those fading pages which we are prone to neglect or to reject, there should still glow any true spirit at all. Yet a spirit does glow there, I think, and glow—in its own peculiar way—immortally. It is a spirit, too, which can teach a lesson to us all, even though men like me, when nurtured in all the traditional heresies of Harvard, cannot share the faith which brought it into being.

For, after all, the faiths of mankind have always been, and must always be, like men themselves, mortal things. Now and again, men and generations face for themselves the mysteries of life and of eternity, of the trivial things we may know and of the infinities everywhere beyond

them. These infinite mysteries men strive to imprison in some forms of words. Each such form throbs at first with the life of the truth which it has embraced. Each such form is presently stiffened into a limitation of that truth—and so what was enlightening becomes bewildering and distorting. The gospels of mankind, for all the divinity that is in them, must finally nod into laws. And then, only some fresh gospel can awaken them again—in the full new light whereof it is not always given to us to see that there was even light before.

As I write such words as these, there comes to me a sense of dismay. This is not the kind of thing which hospitable people expect after dinner. It would be quite fair that by this time some of my hosts should have begun to wonder whether there may not be at hand something more or less in the nature of a pulpit where I might conveniently be invited to deliver myself of what further heretical eloquence I may have in store. And yet I do not see quite how else I could have intimated just what colonial literature has come to mean for me.

It means, in the writings of its two real masters, a brave assertion of the faith that was in them. And that faith, stripped of all its technicalities, seems to me the most courageous assertion in human record of one immutable aspect of truth—an aspect, too, which the commonplaces of our triumphant democracy have been disposed to ignore or even to deny. Let your standard, whatever it be, have in it any trace of true ideals; and the men you measure by it—all but a few—must always be found utterly wanting. In spite of that, whoever has true spirit in him will never cease to strive toward excellence.

The chances, he knows, are myriads that he can never attain it. Until it be attained, he knows, too, there is nothing in his whole being worth respect except that he will not relax his effort, and all the while he knows that he is doomed to make this effort in a world where most men do and for ever shall relax theirs. The human race, a punning class-mate of mine once said, is bad sport to watch; the devil takes too many of the hindmost, and all the rest are out of sight. So be it, those wonderful old Puritan fathers said, in that very different dialect of theirs: that is no reason why we should not strive for excellence, and admit excellence; nor is it any reason why we should deny the solemn fact that incalculably most of us can never come near the excellence we strive for.

They phrased all this in the terms of their theologies. To me it phrases itself, as you see, in terms so different that they would doubtless have pronounced my utterances damnable. Yet I like to fancy that at heart I grow nearer to them with the passing years. For, if I am not all in error, it is their courageous assertion of excellence which still saves our country from yielding itself up to vulgarizing falsehood of equality, mouthed for a century by the gallicized commonplaces of unbridled democracy. And if such brotherhoods as this, to which all of us ancestrally belong, have any meaning, that meaning is that, throughout the generations to come, amid we know not what alien invaders and even conquerors, we may still assert the highest native ideal of our own America—that ideal of excellence which once gave true vitality to colonial literature.

TWO COLONIAL AMERICANS

PROF. WILLIAM LYON PHELPS

HISTORY is always most interesting when it is studied in the concrete. In the lives of two great Colonial Americans every distinctive trait of American character, not only of the early times, but of modern days, may be clearly seen. These two men are Jonathan Edwards and Benjamin Franklin. They were the exact counterpart of each other; one had all that the other did not have. They form a most instructive and really dramatic contrast. They were strictly contemporaries, Edwards having been born in the year 1703 and Franklin in 1706. Edwards died in 1758, and Franklin in 1790, so that you see how far the man of the world outlived the man of God. Although both of them were born in New England, their intellectual lives were as far asunder as the East is from the West. Edwards' father and grandfather were clergymen; he himself was a graduate of Yale; a college tutor; a preacher in New York and in Northampton; a missionary to the Indians, not in Oklahoma, but in Massachusetts; and finally after leaving Yale he became president of Princeton College. He died there in a very short time.

At the age of ten years he wrote an essay ridiculing the materialistic conception of the soul. After reaching manhood he spent thirteen hours a day in his study; his favorite studies being logic, philosophy and metaphysics—the same that the poet Milton, for some reason, has assigned to the more intellectual devils as a pastime in hell:

"Others apart sat on a hill retired,
In thoughts more elevate, and reasoned high,
Of Providence, Fore-knowledge, Will and Fate—
Fixt Fate, free-will, fore-knowledge absolute—
And found no end, in wandering mazes lost."

Edwards' Resolutions and his Diary show his constant introspection. In those days everybody wrote resolutions and everybody kept a diary. He was burdened with that terrible conviction of sin which, in Colonial days, produced so much mental anguish and such rock-like stability of character; which formed so large a part of the make-up of the Puritan, but which to-day in many quarters is not even understood. His outward life was uneventful, but his spiritual life was a succession of hills and valleys; the sloughs of despond alternating with the delectable mountains from which he had glimpses of the glories of the saints of God. I read a short extract from his diary, descriptive of his conception of the heavenly state:

"My support was in contemplations of the heavenly state, as I find in my diary for May 1, 1723. It was a comfort to think of that state where there is fulness of joy; where reigns heavenly, calm and delightful love, without alloy; where there are continually the dearest expressions of this love; where those persons who appear so lovely in this world will really be inexpressibly more lovely and full of love to us. And how sweetly will the mutual lovers join together to sing the praises of God and the Lamb. . . . I continued much in the same frame, in the general, as when at New York, till I went to New Haven as tutor in the college. After I went to New Haven I sunk in religion."

You see that in those days New Haven was as desperately wicked a place as it is universally admitted to be to-day.

Edwards was not only of a deeply religious nature, which found its sole outlet in religious passion, but everything that you and I love to-day in music, in art, in outdoor life and in nature found but one expression in him, and that was religion. This was the passion of his life. His religion was not only emotional; it was of that high philosophic order which refuses to regard life as a riddle except as a riddle to be solved. He was one of the very few men (there are not perhaps more than one in a hundred thousand) who demand and obtain absolute intellectual satisfaction in their religious lives. We observe him accordingly seeking and finding—what so few human beings have found—perfect consistency in his religious beliefs, with the full courage of his convictions. Most of us, in order to get something done, are obliged to allow ideas that are not entirely consistent to harmonize as best they can in our minds. It was not so with Edwards. He denied the freedom of the will, to fit the doctrine of predestination. The doctrine that the majority of people were predestined to be damned went down rather hard with Edwards, for he was by nature kind and lovable, but so great was the influence of his logic over his natural disposition that he finally not only swallowed the tenet, but insisted that it was palatable and declared "This doctrine has very often appeared to me exceedingly pleasant, bright and sweet."

His sermons were not always eloquent like those of

Jeremy Taylor and Phillips Brooks, but they had the eloquence of "deeply felt thought." His perfect calmness in the pulpit, glacial manner, subdued tones and simple language added intensity to his utterances. He described the torments of the damned not in a magic lantern or melodramatic manner, but simply as if he were explaining a mathematical demonstration. His quiet demeanor was ten-fold more impressive because it had the whole weight of the man's sincerity behind it, so that for the moment it seemed like absolute truth. In speaking upon "Sinners in the hands of an angry God," after giving a most lurid description of the terrible torments of the damned, he said, "It would be a wonder if some that are now present should not be in hell in a very short time, before this year is out. And it would be no wonder if some persons, that now sit here in some seats of this meeting-house, in health and quiet, and secure, should be there before to-morrow morning."

Edwards has often been criticised for preaching that sermon. In my opinion he should be commended. He believed absolutely in the truth of what he said; he preached precisely what he believed and he preached it with all his might. I suppose that if any one had said to him, "Why, Mr. Edwards, if we are all predestined to be damned or to be saved what is the use of your preaching," he would have replied, "And I am predestined to preach."

Edwards was undoubtedly the greatest metaphysician this country ever produced; but perhaps he was greatest as an ancestor. As a philosopher he sometimes repelled,

but as an ancestor he was a conspicuous success, with the exception that he was the grandfather of Aaron Burr—but I do not hold him entirely accountable for his grandson. I think that to have had Edwards for a father would have been a little strong, would have brought one too close to the fire, but to have had him five or six removes away would have been like having very desirable tonic-iron in the blood. He did inculcate upon the people of his day, to a large extent, a consciousness of conviction of sin, a passion for righteousness and a degree of real and genuine piety.

We learn of the chief facts of interest about Edwards' life and his traits of mind and heart from his writings; and the same may be said of Franklin, whose autobiography is as cheerfully candid as Pepys' Diary, and was written not in cipher but openly, and addressed to his illegitimate son. As Edwards represented the religious, Calvinistic, Puritanical side of Colonial life and thought which is still prominent in American character, Franklin represented the typical Yankee shrewdness, hard common sense, practical judgment and caution; which are also striking qualities in the American of the twentieth century. These two men are the two great sides of Colonial life and thought, and each is a complement of the other. A careful study of each man's life brings out every important trait in our modern American character.

The late George W. Curtis said of Franklin's autobiography that it had all the attractiveness of the story of Robinson Crusoe. What is the secret of its charm? I think it is simply that, in reading the autobiography, we

are listening to the talk of an interesting old man. You remember the beautiful conversation between Socrates and the old man, with which Plato opens "The Republic"; wherein the aged person is told, "You know you will have to die soon," and he is asked, "How do you feel about it—do you regret the loss of physical prowess, the passions of youth," and so on. One of the greatest pleasures in life is to sit down and talk with an old man who has lived a varied, active, useful life, and whose mind is still clear. From such a source one gets wisdom at the fountain head and gets it freely because old men are usually glad to talk to younger persons.

In the very beginning of his book Franklin makes a statement which I regard as most impressive, and I think it affords a key to his character. I refer to his declaration of his willingness to live his life over again. Though a man of extraordinary experience, he was never pessimistic nor cynical; never excitable, nervous or hysterical, but always hopeful about the future, unlike so many old men who believe that everything is going to the bad. It is his individuality that makes the book so charming; since his other writings, interesting as they are, lack this distinctive feature. I repeat that, wholly apart from his genius, versatility, force and tact, there was a peculiar personal charm about Franklin, one to which all his acquaintances testified. A magnetic man, he talked freely all his life, but he never bored anybody. What a splendid testimonial that would be upon any man's tombstone, "He never bored anybody!" I think that a man of whom that can be truthfully said deserves a place in the front rank of the celestial choir.

Although Franklin wrote his autobiography many years ago, it is peculiarly applicable and useful in practical affairs to-day. Let me tell you of one instance in my own experience. I was visiting friends in Detroit, and after a three days' visit, concluded that it was time to take my departure. My host insisted upon the visit being prolonged; and, while we were discussing the subject, I happened to pick up Franklin's "Poor Richard's Almanac," and, opening it at random, read the following: "Fish and visitors stink in three days." The suggestion seemed opportune, and on the afternoon of the same day I bade my friend adieu.

In reading the autobiography, even the most practical and callous reader is impressed with the fact that one great deficiency in it and in the character of its author is an utter lack of spirituality. By that I do not mean that he was merely not orthodox; I mean that he showed no idealization, no spiritual exaltation and no mental suffering. In Edwards this quality was salient, supreme. The resolutions written out by each show clearly a total difference in emphasis and point of view. Edwards' resolutions show his realization of his duty to God and his desire to please Him. Franklin's resolutions pertain wholly to matters of this world. In respect to temperance he says, "Eat not to dullness, drink not to elevation." Concerning tranquillity he says, "Be not disturbed at trifles, or at accidents common or unavoidable." How fortunate should we be if we really lived up to a resolution like that. It would be better for us than if we were to receive a legacy of a million dollars. Concerning frugality he says, "Make no

expense but to do good to others or yourself; i. e., waste nothing."

Edwards' favorite study was metaphysics, of which Franklin said, "The great uncertainty I found in metaphysical reasonings disgusted me, and I quitted that kind of reading and study for others more satisfactory."

Franklin seemed to have no religious fear, neither fear of God nor of hell nor indeed of anything else. Edwards would lie awake all night thinking of some imaginary sin he might have committed during the day. Franklin, if he had sinned grossly, would merely make an entry in his diary, "Another erratum," and proceed with the day's work. A practical man, he reached morality not by conversion or dogma, but by reason. Though not spiritually strong, as Edwards was, Franklin was a practical Christian; for, like the Master, he went about doing good. He had faith in two things, in which, I am afraid, the modern skeptic does not believe; he believed in prayer and in Providence. He believed that his own life had been divinely guided.

But the keynote to Franklin's character is the word "curiosity," used in its highest sense—boundless, unquenchable curiosity. Reverence he did not have; no tradition or convention hampered him; he must inquire into everything for himself. It was this quality that produced his great discoveries in electricity. They alone would have made his name immortal, and yet they were only the outcome of a Saturday half-holiday in his busy life. The Franklin stove was another of his inventions. He had noticed that while people's houses were properly

heated they were made uncomfortable by smoke, and he remedied this condition by his invention. He also brought into existence the Street Cleaning Department and the Fire Department. He was practically the originator of the Public Library. An immense number of municipal improvements owe their origin to Benjamin Franklin. To Franklin everything that he saw, from a thunderstorm to a lamp-post, was a problem to be solved, and he worked out the solution for the benefit of mankind. He devised many small but valuable improvements. Many of you gentlemen to-night are wearing spectacles with double lenses. It is Franklin's invention.

Is Franklin's teaching of economy petty and mean? Jefferson Davis said of him, "Franklin was the incarnation of the peddling tuppenny Yankee." The answer to this is to be found in a study of Franklin's life. No man was more wisely generous, none more regular in his subscriptions and none better cultivated the habit of cheerful financial assistance. He realized that God loveth the cheerful giver. Nor did his teaching have riches as the goal of life; he never said, "Try to be as rich as you can." His precept was, "Make sure that you spend less than you receive." Why? So that you may be independent, so that you may not become a burden to your family or the community. Franklin gave of his means, in private, with the same pleasure and alacrity with which he made public contributions, and he also gave in that way which was calculated to result in the greatest good.

Franklin has often been called "the typical American,"

but there is one American peculiarity that he did not possess, and that is nervousness—"Americanitis." He had the temperament of a Dutchman. It was his tranquil way of doing things that enabled him to accomplish such an enormous amount of work. I do not know how it is in Philadelphia, but in New Haven many people are troubled with nervous prostration, and it seems to be a national characteristic. You cannot imagine Franklin with nervous prostration.

Franklin's knowledge of the problems of the future is one of the most conspicuous features of his career. I will merely mention two things, one of less consequence and the other of international importance. He urged that all school children should be taught to write with both hands. We know that that has been recently discussed in England as a very necessary accomplishment. I have never met but one person who could write equally well with both hands. The thing of big importance was arbitration. Franklin declared that "all wars are follies," that they are very expensive and very mischievous. "When will mankind be convinced of this, and agree to settle their differences by arbitration?" We cannot to-day claim to be wholly civilized while we still believe in war.

It has often been said of Franklin that the lesson of his life shows what genius can do. He was one of the greatest geniuses who ever appeared. I think he was the greatest in the history of the western hemisphere. Those of you who care to figure upon heredity will remember that Robert Burns was the son of a common plowman, that Keats and Carlyle were of humble origin. Franklin

was one of seventeen children, of whom, except two, he was the youngest. Neither his father nor mother nor any of his brothers or sisters exhibited any traits of genius, yet Benjamin Franklin became, in the language of Matthew Arnold, "the greatest of all Americans." The wind bloweth where it listeth, and nobody can explain why, in that Boston family of seventeen children, the inspiration of genius was given to but one alone. Franklin stood the test of comparison with the best men of the earth. Like Abraham Lincoln, his practical judgment in an emergency was almost infallible. Although in his youth he had no formal education, he early displayed qualities of the highest statesmanship. When he went to Paris he came in competition, as a diplomat, with men who themselves and whose fathers and grandfathers had been trained in diplomacy; yet he, an uneducated Yankee, proved himself the greatest diplomat of them all and was so regarded by them. He was a great scientist before there was any organized science. His statesmanship was surpassed by no contemporary in the world. One of the most popular American books was written by him. He is the only American who signed all four of those immortal documents, the Declaration of Independence, the French Treaty of Alliance, the Treaty of Peace and the United States Constitution. He was the most useful man of his age. In municipal affairs he was a tower of strength—a multitudinous blessing. If Jonathan Edwards were alive to-day he would make a superb president for a theological seminary. If Benjamin Franklin were alive to-day he would make a splendid Mayor of New York City.

Let us hope that the American of the immediate future will be, as I believe he will be, a happy union of the qualities of these two great men. Let us hope it may be common for an American to have the sincere piety of Edwards, his religious earnestness and his passion for righteousness, and also the tolerance, the intelligence, the capacity for usefulness and the hard common sense of Benjamin Franklin.

REMINISCENCES OF A COLLECTOR

GEORGE S. PALMER, Esq.



THE desire for the strange, unusual and rare—the predatory instinct which lures the huntsman to infinite fatigue for the scanty rewards of the chase, the vanity and conceit of exclusive possession—veneration of the past expressed by reverence for its remains; the craving to perfect a series of types to form a rounded whole, love of the beautiful and wish to infuse others with that love by juxtaposition of many beautiful objects—these are a few of the attributes of human nature which are found in the make-up of the true collector.

The prevalence of this instinct may easily be traced through all grades of civilization back to the savage who, if too poor to gather together other curiosities, is usually found with a unique collection of wives.

In early times collections of precious objects were largely made to denote wealth and political importance, or, as now in India, for investment. Vast quantities of treasure in gold and silver, costly trappings and especially gems are hoarded by the rich men of the East to serve as available funds in case of need. A rich Parsee recently told me that ten per cent. of his income was annually invested in precious stones. So had his ancestors done for many years, and the shrewdness of their policy is proven by the continual rise in value of such property.

However, the commercial aspect of collecting, even if sometimes profitable, is not altogether pleasing, and we turn with interest to that old Roman collector whose passion sprang from love of the beautiful and æsthetic interest—evidenced by every piece of his collection of

antique silver, now one of the chief ornaments of the Louvre.

Living at Bosco Reale in a fine villa upon the slopes of Vesuvius, halfway between Pompeii below and the summit, overlooking a region of such enchanting loveliness as to be justly called Parthenope, picture his feeling of anxious horror upon that fateful day in the year 79 as he saw the heavens darken and felt the strange rain of ashes enveloping him. We know that he did not lose his self-possession, for his first thought was of his beloved old silver things—antiques even at that time, of various lands and marked of many makers. Carefully he gathered them together, protected them from the ashes, ready to take them with him if he had to go—he went—they remained. Doubtless some sudden downpour of mud or stones forced a hasty departure. We sympathize with his loss and regret that he could not know that his loving interest in fine old things has resulted in preserving for us a hundred pieces of artistic silver work illustrating in a quite unique way various phases of ancient domestic life.

The Roman generals brought back from their conquests the spoils of the Ancient World—in part to magnify their triumphs but chiefly to adorn the public buildings of Rome and those splendid villas in its environs—whence so many choice works of antiquity have been recovered.

The Romans must have developed some famous collectors, for we read of rare tables costing tens of thousands of our dollars, and find the satiric writers ridiculing such extravagance.

More than a thousand years later, when the Italian despots had created oases of comparative stability amid the general turmoil of Italy, they became enthusiastic collectors and ransacked every nook and corner of the peninsula for antiques. It is not too much to assert that the collections of ancient manuscripts, coins, medals, statues, and other remains of antiquity they brought together were largely responsible for the mighty creative impulses of the Italian Renaissance.

Later Francis I. and Charles V. worked to the same ends for France and Spain.

The spirit of collecting sped to the North and, in 1700, we find Augustus the Strong of Saxony bringing together at Dresden that marvelous assemblage of pictures and works of art which will forever make his name honored by those who love the beautiful.

Even Napoleon found time to gratify this side of his nature and collected at Paris the finest works in painting and sculpture filched without compunction from the museums of conquered cities to which, after his downfall, they were, however, reluctantly restored.

It is an interesting fact that many of the famous collectors of old were preëminently men of action—men of strenuous lives, whose work and thought were apparently far removed and even hostile to that habit of reflection and close observation necessary to enjoy artistic excellence. Doubtless they were fascinated by the very contrast between the stress of their world of action and the calm of that world of art they occasionally entered.

So in modern times collectors are generally men of

engrossing activities, like Gladstone, Thiers, or with us J. P. Morgan, J. J. Hill, C. T. Yerkes, and many others.

Those unthinking persons who accuse Americans of loving no art but that traced by the geometric lathe upon our currency have little conception of the intelligent interest, patient effort and liberal expenditure scores of our countrymen are devoting to the accumulation and exhibition of the finest works of art of every kind. Much of this work is so recent, many of the collections are so new, that they are not well known. The exportation of so many treasures is already exciting deprecatory comment in Europe, but we can but rejoice at the improvement of general taste and the stimulating effect upon our native artists, surely consequent upon their presence in our country.

Pardon me for dragging in such great names into an informal talk more or less about myself. I do it not for association or comparison, but to use them as vindicators or apologists for my own acquisitive habits.

The true collector is constantly in a state of apologetic contrition for undue indulgence in his inebriating passion. Like the toper who imagines the whole world reeling while he alone is still, so the collector is sure that his reason has dictated the purchase and that his prize is a great bargain, until some unsympathizing friend brings him to task with cold arithmetic. His hope is to breathe only the atmosphere of his own enthusiasm and never to exhaust it.

Twenty-five years ago, when I began to purchase household articles, a friend suggested to me that old things were better made than new—more attractive in form, not more expensive, and salable with much less loss.

Taking his advice made me a collector. Possession of a few old things stimulated the desire for many. The various impulses noted above, growing veneration of the past, an appreciation of the sentiment with which long use envelops even ordinary things, desire to illustrate fully certain phases of eighteenth century life in England and the Colonies; these are some of the influences which have caused me to find a part of my recreation in rescuing from ignorant and unsympathetic hands the quaint and beautiful heirlooms of our forefathers.

I fully realize the dangers which beset our calling—the tendency toward narrowness which specialization breeds—jealousy and envy of richer or more fortunate rivals, greed and conceit of possession—warped conception of the beautiful and the truly artistic and general abnormality of feeling and reasoning regarding our collected treasures. However, I trust that these baleful tendencies are merely weeds in those fields of asphodel through which the true collector is always sauntering, rejoicing in prizes found, enthusiastic in hope of others soon to appear, constantly enlarging his knowledge of human nature, delving deeply into historical studies and seeking to recreate the personal and domestic aspects of a life which has passed away, by assembling such relics of it as may exist. We may best learn how to live by learning how the best have lived. Nothing better illustrates the life of the past than the materials of living which the past has left. The collector is a valuable expounder of history.

Pursuing my subject in lighter vein, I should like to relate a few experiences to indicate the dilemmas which

collectors frequently must face and incidentally to illustrate the wide variety of tactful qualities required successfully to master them.

Writers upon Colonial themes have dwelt upon the wide variation in personal characteristics between the early New England settlers and those of Maryland, Virginia and the South. They contrast the narrow, hard-headed, earnest, patient, God-fearing, simple-living Puritan with the dashing cavalier—full of adventure, courageous, generous, hospitable, elemental in passions, of riotous life and profane speech.

The descendants of both may well allow that in the final weighing neither can claim the balance of good, but, as I recently had good occasion to note, heredity has not failed to preserve the striking differences in modes of thought and manner of expression so marked of old. Having found out that a descendant of a very old Maryland family had in her possession a magnificent silver cup—an ancient heirloom so ample in size and so rich in workmanship as to be in itself an epitome of the luxurious old Maryland life—and having sought and obtained permission to see it, picture me in the presence of the august owner, holding the precious cup, gently caressing its surface and noting its marks, with my mind half absorbed in forming a judgment as to its genuineness and half in trying to formulate a delicate tactful inquiry as to a possible sale. The stately dame of fifty whose azure blood had been strained through the veins of a score of aristocratic ancestors, shattered my reverie by exclaiming: "It seems to me you are damned slow. Why in hell don't you make me an offer?"

I had never before heard a lady swear. My tongue was paralyzed; fortunately relief came in a remark which quickly followed—"The fact is, Mr. Palmer, I am damned hard up and must have a certain sum of money." With a person so sincere and candid bargaining was easy and the sale was soon made.

I failed to discover any regret at parting with the grand ancestral relic, but the touch of pathos seldom absent from such transactions was immediately felt when the good woman was asked to give up an old silver teapot which she and her husband had found when travelling together a few years before. So true is it that heirlooms, however splendid, from remote or unknown ancestors are wont merely to minister to family pride without stirring the emotions, while objects associated with those dear to us excite and retain our liveliest affection.

It is not often, however, that a great prize falls to the collector with so little mental effort. Occasionally indeed are demanded a fertility of resource—a tact, a strategic fervor and diplomatic qualities worthy of higher ends. The truth of the following tale is vouched for by a business rival of the hero and therefore must not be questioned. A London dealer in antiques having learned that a certain nobleman had a fine collection of old things and incidentally that he was somewhat cramped for ready money, and realizing that a direct proposal to buy would be indignantly rejected, hit upon the following ingenious plan to accomplish his purpose.

Clad in the height of fashion, he took care to saunter through the nobleman's grounds along the border of a

lake at a time when other guests would be near by. As a group approached him, throwing up his hands with a great cry he fell headlong into the lake. Of course they ran to his assistance, dragged his apparently unconscious body from the water, bore it to the palace and worked over it until consciousness seemed to return. During a purposely prolonged convalescence the dealer had opportunity to meet his victim, and possessing charming manners, he soon convinced him that by replacing his antiques with copies and selling the originals he could relieve his financial embarrassment without hurt to his pride. Before the dealer departed he had a bill of sale of the whole collection.

In general the collector must be content to see his treasures accumulate piecemeal, one from this unexpected place, another at that unexpected time, and hard enough is it sometimes to induce the possessor of a single desirable piece to let go his hold. But at rare intervals there come golden opportunities to those who have the wit to seize them. Perhaps a collector himself becomes weary of the burden, or possibly by some untoward incident, balked in his intention to bestow his things upon the public, is embittered by the recoil of his generous impulse from unsympathetic reciprocity.

By happy inspiration rather than foresight, for I was ignorant of the conditions, it was my fortune once to take such a swelling tide at the very flood and bear to port in a single venture sixty pieces of antique furniture. It is but fair to state that I was piloted over many fearsome rocks and shoals by a Boston legal friend, whose knowledge of human foibles is equalled only by his skill in tracking choice antique bits to their hiding places.

In a neighboring Connecticut city ten years ago two brothers, the remnant of their race, lived in hermit-like seclusion in a home built by their ancestors a hundred years before. One was seldom seen, and I suspect spent most of his time doing the simple housework of the pair; the trade of the other, that of upholsterer, kept him somewhat in contact with the outer world. The latter had in early life imbibed a strong passion for things of the olden time and had gathered a large collection of unusual types which he guarded with jealous care. Admittance to the house was seldom granted and then most grudgingly. He had never been known to sell a piece except one to me sometime before; but that misstep was fatal to him. The thought suddenly struck me one day, buy his whole collection, and the next morning accompanied by my friend I was banging to and fro his disconnected door-pull. At length we were admitted and straightway began our attack by boldly stating that we wanted prices put upon everything in the house. We had come to purchase the whole. A fleeting smile, somewhat sad and almost ghastly (for his face is always very pale), spread over his countenance, but he made no direct refusal, which to us was a great encouragement.

We began talking of the value of specific pieces and finally induced him to join us in deciding what each should fetch in case he were to sell—although of course he had no intention of parting with a single thing. Noon arriving we adjourned to a recuperative luncheon and to take counsel for a final assault. Apparently we had not advanced a particle, yet in both the faith was strong that

a determined onset would make the citadel ours. During the whole of that sultry summer day we labored. Having appraised the contents of every room we were allowed to enter, the gross total was found and a plump offer based upon it was made. Oh, no, of course, he could not accept it; if he sold (and of course he would not sell) he must get the full amount. We renewed the attack, offered the full amount and then found that the brother must be consulted. A moment's respite refreshed our flagging energies, and when he returned we bore down upon him with every physical power and mental faculty we could use. Hours rolled away. The sun set in a lurid sky, darkness came on and still we were arguing, cajoling, bargaining, scolding, apparently vainly dashing our brains and nerves against a human wall of calm, smiling, exasperating silence and absolutely undisturbed indifference. And yet some inner monitor told us to persevere, and finally as the light was fast failing my cousin thrust the paper before him, I thrust the penholder between his fingers and he signed. We caught the last freight train home.

When the antique lovers of that city saw the ancient house disgorge its long concealed treasures they were sore hurt and freely intimated that we had used Satanic arts to obtain them. I confess that I was a bit disturbed myself, but a careful search of my conscience in the light of subsequent knowledge of the facts convinced me that, if hypnotic influence were present upon that occasion, it emanated from the seller and not from us. In truth both were satisfied. No doubt some kindly telepathic agent intimated to my subconscious self that the old man had

conceived the idea of a sale. The warmth and presence of our eagerness merely forced that idea to germinate and fruit with extraordinary speed. But otherwise we should never have obtained his treasures—too many others were slyly waiting for them. It afterward transpired that a heavy sewer assessment, which he considered unjust, caused his native city to lose the gift of his collection.

There is a painful side to this subject which I should gladly gloss over were not shadows needed to tone the picture. I shall not dwell upon the dispersal of long prized and laboriously gathered collections by death or pecuniary reverse, nor more than mention the pitiful relinquishment into stranger hands of cherished heirlooms by those who can no longer afford to keep them; what I refer to are the gross frauds and detestable chicanery practised by dealers in antiques upon the trustful ignorance of unsophisticated purchasers. The temptation to exploit the credulity or over wise conceit of his customers is too much for the honesty of the average dealer; and my experience both in Europe and America forces me to the opinion that with very rare exceptions there is no truth in them—caveat emptor.

The disastrous consequences which result to a collector with imperfect knowledge of his subject, or too great reliance upon unscrupulous dealers, are strikingly shown in the following experience—an experience which also served to disclose to me some of the most curious foibles I have found in a human nature.

Last year I learned that a very rich collector of antique china and silver would sell some of his plate. By appoint-

ment I went to his magnificent mansion in Fifth Avenue, New York, at nine o'clock one morning and was ushered into a very lofty but very dark, chilly hall. Passing along, I felt the air grow warmer and suddenly two red eyes glowed at me. As I grew accustomed to the duskiness I realized that I was near a common base-burning stove. That house—a veritable palace—had no central heating apparatus, and the icy chill of its sixty rooms was but slightly tempered here and there by various cheap stoves with ugly pipes leading into carved and decorated fireplaces.

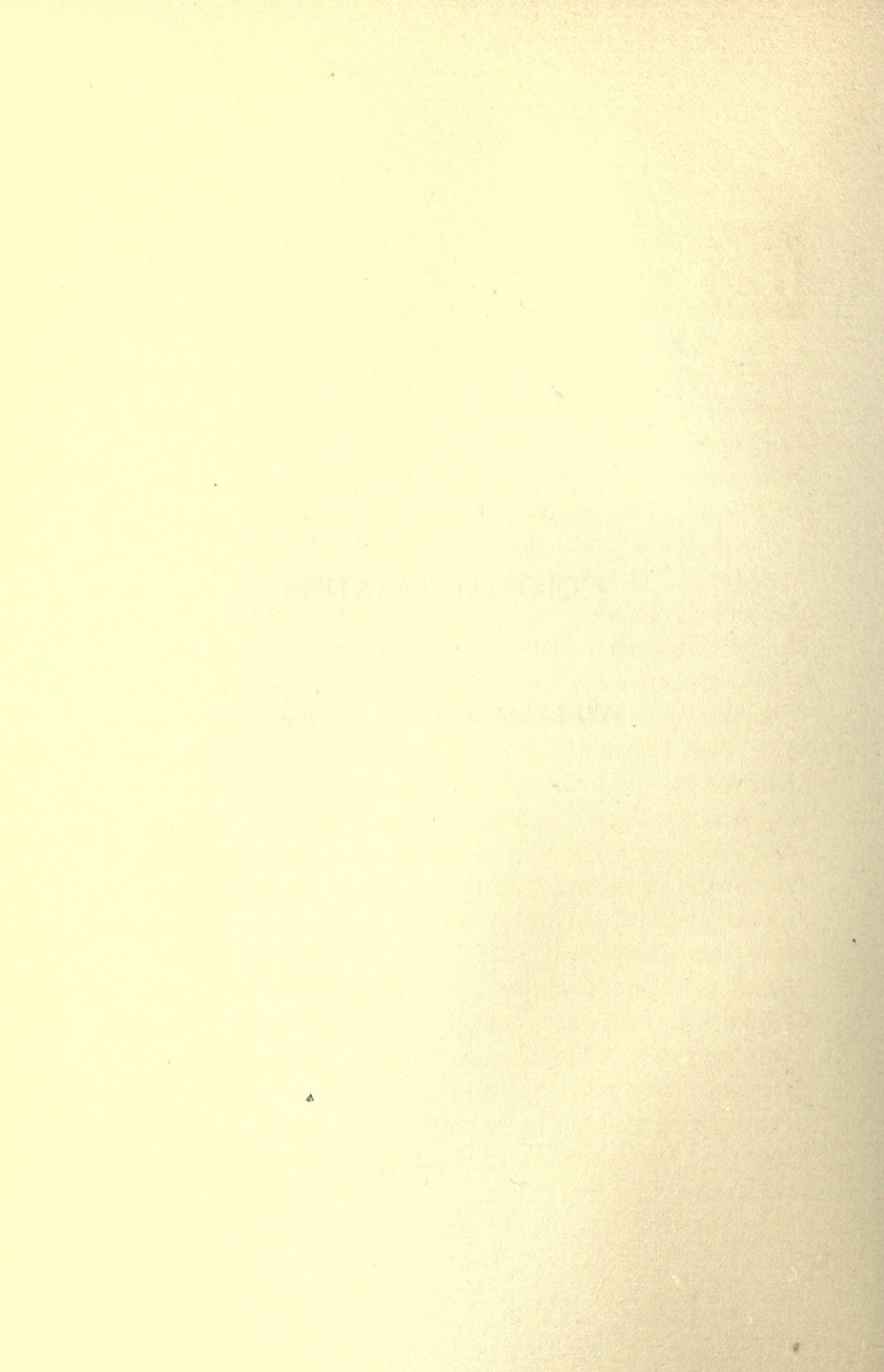
Ascending a noble stairway and passing through a steel door bristling with bolts, I found myself in a fire-proof room surrounded with cases filled with large and supposedly rare pieces of old English plate. The special objects of my visit appeared to be genuine, and upon a further examination and with expert advice I purchased them, but of the great mass of huge pieces less than half have been found original, and their disillusioned owner has recently acknowledged that he has twenty specimens, for which he has paid over two thousand dollars apiece, all of which are fakes. Over fifty rooms of that house are filled with china and porcelain objects by the thousands. I hope that no expert will ever be called in to separate the chaff from the wheat; the resulting shock would paralyze their owner.

In bringing together specimens of English and Colonial cabinet work and silver, the finest examples I have had the opportunity of buying, I have been moved by two purposes, one to furnish a home in a distinctive way, the other more serious and important,

namely, to demonstrate the but imperfectly and recently realized artistic tastes of our forefathers. The earliest settlers literally hewed their homes and their furniture out of the primeval forests. They were dominated by a religious enthusiasm which so colored their daily life and so permeated their literature that later historians and students, ignorant or careless of other data no less important in estimating their character, have pictured them as cold, hard and stern, indifferent to comfort and even hostile to luxury. But I do not believe that the icy blasts of their theology chilled their domestic atmosphere nearly as much as we have been taught to believe; and the perusal of old inventories, the reading of old letters, sketches of travel, and the minor or more intimate records of their lives, indicate a comfortable and abundant living and reveal deep currents of feeling and sympathy, even if they ran in narrow channels. Further, a careful study of the domestic articles upon which they spent their skill and taste makes it evident that in appreciation of beauty of form, of that indefinable but attractive quality called quaintness, of the dignity of simplicity, and in the power to combine these qualities in an artistic way, our forefathers were far and away our superiors. In the building of our houses, the fashioning of our furniture, and the modeling of our silver and metal work we are to-day recognizing the superiority of their work by copying it.

COLONIAL TAXATION

WILLIAM H. CORBIN, Esq.





CRITICS John Fiske: "In that strangely beautiful story, 'The Cloister and the Hearth,' in which Charles Reade has drawn such a vivid picture of human life at the close of the Middle Ages, there is a good description of the siege of a revolted town by the army of the Duke of Burgundy. Arrows whiz, catapults hurl their ponderous stones, wooden towers are built, secret mines are exploded. The sturdy citizens, led by a tall knight who seems to bear a charmed life, baffle every device of the besiegers. At length the citizens capture the brother of the duke's general, and the besiegers capture the tall knight, who turns out to be no knight after all, but just a plebeian hosier. The duke's general is on the point of ordering the tradesman who has made so much trouble to be shot, but the latter still remains master of the situation, for, as he dryly observes, if any harm comes to him, the enraged citizens will hang the general's brother. Some parley ensues, in which the shrewd hosier promises for the townsfolk to set free their prisoner and pay a round sum of money if the besieging army will depart and leave them in peace. The offer is accepted, and so the matter is amicably settled. As the worthy citizen is about to take his leave the general ventures a word of inquiry as to the cause of the town's revolt. 'What, then, is your grievance, my good friend?' Our hosier knight, though deft with needle and keen with lance, has a stammering tongue. He answers: 'Tuta-tuta-tuta-tuta-too much taxes.'

“‘Too much taxes’; those three little words furnish us with a clue wherewith to understand and explain a great deal of history. A great many sieges of towns, so horrid to have endured though so picturesque to read about, hundreds of weary marches and deadly battles, thousands of romantic plots that have led their inventors to the scaffold, have owed their origin to questions of taxation.”

“The issue between the ducal commander and the warlike tradesman has been tried over and over again in every country and in every age, and not always has the oppressor been so speedily thwarted and got rid of. The questions as to how much the taxes shall be are always and in every stage of society questions of most fundamental importance. And ever since men began to make history, a very large part of what they have done, in the way of making history, has been the attempt to settle these questions, whether by discussion or by blows, whether in council chambers or on the battlefield.”

REVOLUTIONS

Nearly all the great political revolutions have been brought about by the attempt to compel the people to contribute their property in what seemed to them an unjust way, such as the secession of the ten tribes in Jewish history; the Peloponnesian war, and the Protestant secession from the Catholic Church led by Luther.

Wat Tyler's rebellion in England in 1381 was caused by the attempt to collect an unjust poll tax. The “misuse of taxes” caused the uprisings against Henry VI. under the leadership of Jack Cade.

The overthrow of Charles I. and the establishment of the constitutional rights of the English people was caused by a question of taxation.

The French Revolution of 1789, the most terrible political convulsion of modern times, was caused chiefly by "too much taxes," and by the fact that the people who paid the taxes were not the people who decided what the taxes were to be.

Our own Revolution, which made the United States a nation independent of Great Britain, was brought on by the disputed question as to who was to decide what taxes American citizens must pay.

The evils caused by unjust taxation including the exemptions of the privileged classes, flagrant inequalities, and the farming out of the collection to privileged speculators which prevailed particularly in France, demonstrated the desire to conform to the theory of taxation which prevailed at that time with certain so-called economists, that the true art of taxation was that of plucking the greatest amount of feathers from the goose with the least amount of squawking.

GENERAL VIEW

A large number of the colonists came to this country to escape just such conditions, and they were particularly appreciative of the liberty and freedom which they here enjoyed.

"In examining the records of the American colonies" says Richard Ely, "one finds that while there was murmuring at times on account of heavy burdens, and while

complaints of unfair apportionment of taxes among towns or occupations were not infrequent, less concern was shown regarding the amount of the tax than with the underlying principles of taxation the defence of which ended in the struggle for independence. The spirit which later resisted a petty tax because laid without the consent of the colonists is plainly visible in the enactments of the early assemblies. The provision that no tax should be levied or collected except with the consent of the people to be taxed, or of their representatives, was common to all; and while it was violated and wholly disregarded at times by royal governors, it was generally conceded to as a matter of prudence and policy."

"In the earlier days of the colonies there was no great need for taxes. The Mother Country asked no assistance from them; quit rents satisfied the demands of the proprietary or the company, who in turn promised at least partial protection; fierce wars had not yet transferred the burden of defence to the shoulders of the people; the public wants of the colonists themselves were simple and easily supplied; there were few officials, and these were either wholly without compensation, or received but a few slight fees."

"There were no heavy expenditures, no sudden fiscal demands; merely a small steady expense account, which would be met without the aid of organized administrative machinery. In certain colonies the contributions were voluntary and were applied to the support of the colonial government and to the maintenance of schools, churches and highways. But the colonists could not continue to

rely on voluntary impulses when expenditures began to increase. The honest and willing contributor soon became the shirking taxpayer. The absolutely necessary expenses of government had to be met, and the passage of laws requiring compulsory contributions became necessary."

"Thereafter colonial revenues were derived largely from fines, fees, forfeitures, quit-rents, lotteries, tangible property and the sale of land. Grants of land were made to officials, from which they were to meet the expenses of their office and pay their salaries. Direct taxes were levied upon all property or the income from it, or upon the head."

COLONIAL METHODS

"Taxes increased in frequency," says Ely, "until they became regularly recurring burdens, and contributions which were once of a more or less voluntary character became compulsory. There is an old proverb to the effect that he who gives three times establishes a claim against himself. This has been true in finance. New Haven offers a curious illustration. In the autumn of 1644, the town began its annual contributions for the support of poor scholars at Harvard College. The offering consisted of a peck of wheat, or the value of the same, from every one 'whose hart is willing.' The largess lost its voluntary character and was regarded as a tax. The collectors of college corn were regularly elected town officers until the end of the colonial existence."

In this same year an interesting note in the Records of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay in New England

shows that a similar request was made in that colony. The Records of the General Court read: "It is ordered yt ye deputies shall comend it to ye sevrall towns (& ye eldrs are to be desired to give their furthrance hereto) wth declaration of ye corse wch was ppounded by ye said commissioners, & hath bene put in practice by some of ye other colonies, vis; of evry family alowg one peck of corne, or 12d in mony or othr comodity, to be sent in to ye Treasurer for the college at Cambridge, or wher else hee shall apoint in Boston or Charlestowne." The implied voluntary character of the offering is noteworthy.

It may be doubted whether in reality it ever had any voluntary element at all. Our Puritan ancestors, with their stern ideas of duty and their readiness to apply a vigorous boycott to obnoxious individuals, would probably have made things most uncomfortable for anyone who should have objected to his share of the contribution. A curious act of the Assembly of the Province of Maryland, dated 1650, is worthy of notice in this connection. It is entitled "An Order for the Relief of the Poor, and it directs that an "equal assessment" be levied on such inhabitants of St. Mary's County as will not make a willing contribution for the maimed, lame, and blind.

SUMMARY

Frederick Robertson Jones, in his history of Taxation in Connecticut, gives definite information relative to colonial taxation and I have taken the liberty of quoting from him very freely.

"Direct taxation was the backbone of the colonial system of taxation, the first and always the principal source of

the commonwealth revenue. It was levied at first upon land, property and polls, and later upon 'faculties' and incomes. Land constituted a primary basis of taxation. It was taxed, not according to its selling value, but according to fixed rates for each kind, prescribed by statute, which were thought to represent the average income it would produce. Different kinds of property were listed at fixed sums, determined by law, and polls placed in the same list at a lump sum. Faculty was rated according to gains, and, as a later development, direct taxes placed upon incomes. All, however, was more or less determined by statute and beyond the control of the listers, who made up the different assessments into a grand total called the Grand List, upon which taxes were levied in the form of a certain per cent., as '1d on the pound.' The chief official in collecting the tax was the constable. Indirect taxation formed a very unimportant source of the public revenue. It developed late, and was introduced to lighten the burdens of the direct tax. As an excise it took the form of a payment for license to sell and a tax on products; while as an impost duty it was levied on exports and imports. Local taxation was confined to direct taxation and furnished the revenue for the support of the church."

MASSACHUSETTS SYSTEM

"The Massachusetts system of taxation was undoubtedly transferred to Connecticut and formed the foundation upon which the financial structure of the colony was built."

"The probability that the Connecticut settlers would adopt the Customs of the mother colony, the well-known

tendency of Connecticut to follow the 'Bay Horse' in other legislation, and the fact that the union of New Haven with Connecticut in 1665 made practically no change in the system of taxation in the former, all tend to strengthen the argument just adduced."

On account of the stupidity or willfulness of Governor Vane and his Council, the feeble colony upon the Connecticut was brought into a life or death conflict with the Pequots, the most powerful Indians of Connecticut. The first day of May, 1637, the General Court, now first so called, assembled at Hartford and declared "an offensive warr agt the Pequott."

The first "charge" of any kind that we find mentioned was the levy in kind to provide for this war. The towns were to furnish a certain amount of armor for the equipment for the soldiers; also biscuit, meal, suet, butter, the "good beare for the Captain," and the "3 or 4 gallons of strong water," and all kinds of food necessary for the maintenance of the soldiers. In the levy of corn, that product being a medium of exchange, the apportionment as between the towns was rigidly observed. Hartford furnished 42 men and 84 bushels of corn; Windsor, 30 men and 60 Bushels of corn; and Wethersfield 18 men and 36 bushels of corn. The same rule was observed in the second levy, which was assessed upon the towns as follows: £86 16s upon Agawam (Springfield, then considered to be in the Connecticut jurisdiction), £158 2s upon Windsor, £251 2s upon Hartford and £124 upon Wethersfield. Payment could be made either "in monney, in Wampum at fower a penny, or in good and marchant-able beaver at 9s pr pounde."

The first principles of taxation were transferred from the mother colony of Massachusetts and early established in Connecticut. But as the wants of the colony became greater, other principles were from time to time introduced from the same source in order to meet these increased demands until May, 1650, when they were all incorporated into the Code of Laws, from which date Connecticut may be said to have had a system of taxation.

CODE OF 1650

Extracts from this Code are as follows:

"It is ordered by this Courte and Authority thereof, that euery Inhabitant shall henceforth contribute to all charges both in Church and Common wealth whereof hee doth or may receiue benefitt, and euery such Inhabitant who doth not voluntarily contribute proportionally to his ability, with the rest of the same Towne to all common charges, both Ciuill and Eccleseasticall, shall be compelled therevnto by assessments and distress, to be leuyed by the Constable or other officer of the Towne as in other cases; And that the lands and Estates of all men, whereuer they dwell, shall bee rated for all Towne Charges, both Ciuill and Eccleseasticall as aforesaid, where the lands and Estates shall lye, and their persons, where they dwell.

"And for all such persons as by the advantage of their Artes and Trades are more able to helpe beare the publike charge than Common Labourers and workemen, as Butchers, Bakers, Bruers, Victuallers, Smiths, Carpenters, Taylors, Shoemakers, Joiners, Barbers, Millers and Masons, with all other manuell persons and Artists, such are to bee rated for their returnes and gaines proportionably vnto other men for the produce of their estates. Provided that in the Rate by the Poll, such persons as are dissabled by sickness, lameness or other infirmities shall bee exempted; and for

such servants and children as take not wages, their parents and masters shall pay for them, but such as take wages shall pay for themselves.

Whereas much wrong hath been done to the Country by the negligence of Constables, in not gathering such Leuyes as they have received Warrants from the Treasurer, during their office:— It is therefore ordered, that if any Constable shall not have gathered the Leuyes committed to his charge by the Treasurer then being, during the time of his office, that hee shall, notwithstanding (the) expiration of his office, have power to leuye by distress all such Rates and Leuyes; and if hee bring them not in to the old Treasurer, according to his warrants, the Treasurer shall distreine such Constables goods for the same; and if the Treasurer shall not so distreine the Constable, hee shall be answerable to the County for the same. And if the Constable be not able to make payment, it shall be lawful for the Treasurer, old or new respectively, to distreine any man or men of that Towne where the Constables are unable, for all Arrearages of Leuyes; and that man or men, upon petition to the Generall Courte, shall have order to collect the same againe, equally of ye Towne with his just damages for the same.

It is ordered, that the prises of Corne—for the yeare ensuing, for all Country Rates, (except where ingagements to the contrary are expressed,) shall be as followeth:

Wheat, foure shillings six pence pr bush:

Pease, three shillings six pence pr bush:

Rye, three shillings six pence per bush:

Indian, three shillings pr bush:

And that there shall be liberty for all men to pay one thirde parte of such Rates, in good Wampum.”

In October, 1685, the General Court laid a tax as follows:

“This Court grants a rate of one penny halfe penny upon the pound, of all the rateable estate in the Colony, to clear Country

debts; to be payd in porck, three pownds p barrell; winter wheat, fower shillings p bushell; rye or pease, at three shillings p bushell; Indian corn, at two shillings six pence; all to be good and marchantable: to be (payd) one third in wheat, one third in pease or rye, and one third in Indian corn or porck and those that doe not pay their proportion in wheat shall make it up in Indian corn at two shillings p bushell. And if any will pay two thirds of their rates in Boston money, it shall be accepted in full of their rates. If any want pease or rye to pay their rates, they have lieberty to pay their rates, the one halfe in wheat, the other in Indian corn."

PROPERTY TAX, NEW HAVEN

The development of the property tax is instructive. On account of the failure of the Delaware Company, those individuals who were rich in 1640 became impoverished, and possessing more land than their neighbors, who had accumulated personal property rather than real estate, the burdens of the land tax bore heavily upon them. It soon became evident that this inequality of taxation ought to be adjusted, so in the town court of March, 1648, it was moved that the court consider some other way of rating men by lands. Others concurring, a committee was appointed to consider the matter.

Although taxes were laid upon properties coincident with land, yet it is altogether probable that in Connecticut, as in New Haven, the scope of the property tax was gradually widened so as to ultimately include almost all objects of value, and that for the purpose of lessening the burden of the tax upon land, houses, mills, ships and smaller vessels, "merchantable goods," cranes, wharves,

and all other "visible estate at home or at sea," were placed in the Grand List according to certain estimates of value, while cattle of all kinds were individually rated according to a permanent legal valuation governed by age. Cows, heifers, steers, oxen, bulls, horses, mares, sheep, goats and swine were listed according to age.

During the colonial period, certain persons were exempted from payment of the property tax, and certain kinds of property were not taxable, but the exemptions were not numerous and never threatened the equality of the tax:

Persons exempted from the tax:

- (a) Ministers of the Gospel.
- (b) The President of Yale.
- (c) Other persons on special occasions, as loss by fire.

POLL TAX

The theory that every able-bodied man should bear a certain minimum portion of the government expenses was firmly held by the early inhabitants of Connecticut. They had been accustomed to the tax on polls in England, and when the principles of the Massachusetts system of taxation were incorporated into the Code of 1650, the principle of the poll tax was taken without the slightest hesitation. By this code all male persons from sixteen years old and upwards were set in the list at two shillings, six pence. This was found to be too high, and, October, 1651, was reduced to eighteen pence, but later, under Andros, raised again to one shilling, eight pence.

After 1737, polls were placed in the lists at the fixed sum of £18 each, and each male person from sixteen years old to seventy, with certain exceptions was listed and required to pay as much on his head as though he were the owner of £18 estate. The change was, however, one more of form than principle, a change from the expression of the thing to the thing itself, from 18d to its base £18. The exemptions from the poll tax were numerous and applied to persons disabled by sickness, lameness and old age, to persons engaged in the ministry, in educational pursuits, in the management of the government and in favored industries. As follows:

Ministers and their families, and elders of churches. (Exemption under Faculty Tax.)

Rector of Yale College, tutors, school-masters and students of the college until the expiration of the time for taking their second degree.

Magistrates, Assistants, the Governor, Deputy-Governor, Commissioner (while in office).

Persons engaged in favored occupations, as the iron works of New Haven, and whale and cod fisheries.

Those engaged in certain unusual military operations, as the officers and soldiers sent against Crown Point in the French and Indian War.

Allowed physicians, until October, 1722. After May, 1721, any person above seventy years old.

The poll tax was, like the property tax, employed by all the colonies at one period or another. It was the only direct tax levied in Virginia for years. Maryland had, before the Revolution, practically no other direct tax. All

free men, free women, and children over twelve years of age were included in the levy. This tax became, to the people of this colony, most unpopular, and that for reasons of principle. It was felt that it was not fair, because not in proportion to ability as measured by property, and it was difficult to make the payments, because, while hemp, flax, or other produce, or paper money might serve as legal tender for other debts, the poll tax must be paid in tobacco, a given number of pounds per poll, the value of which was increased at times, by a designed diminution of the supply. The tax became extremely burdensome, and was, in 1777, declared "greivous." In other colonies this tax seems to have always accompanied other taxes.

FACULTIES AND INCOMES

The Connecticut Code of Laws made provisions for that class of laborers who, by the advantage of their trades, were better able to contribute to the expenses of the government than common laborers. They were rated according to their gains, just as other men were for the probable income of their estates. The compass of the tax gradually grew larger, and in October, 1737, attorneys-at-law were listed for their "faculty"—the least practitioners at £50 and others in proportion to their practice. An income tax was laid May, 1757, when the General Court enacted that all persons who loaned or let out money should be rated in the lists in proportion to their gains.

GRAND LISTS

In the first recorded Grand List, for the year 1651, the lists of only seven towns were returned, the others having

been exempted or the lists not having been completed. The whole amount was £75,492, Hartford leading the list with £22,404. By the Code of Laws the towns sometime in August chose three or four men to act as listers. They were obliged to take an oath of office and had all powers of making and correcting the lists. The warning to send in their lists not later than the 20th of August was first given by the listers in person or by note, but later it was declared sufficient warning for the listers to post notification upon the town posts in two or three public places. In May, 1775, the law was changed and in addition the listers were required to send a written notice to every inhabitant. After being warned, if any of the inhabitants refused or neglected to send in their lists they at first forfeited all goods not returned, but later this was changed to one-half. The listers were obliged to send the total amount of all the lists to the October session of the General Court and the lists themselves were filed in January with the town clerk, taking his receipt. If any persons failed in any way to hand in a complete list of their ratable estate, having been warned according to law, they were assessed by the listers at discretion—rated “will and doom.” From the first of October until the last of December the listers sat as inspectors and increased the assessment four-fold on all ratable property they found omitted.

The sum-total of these four-fold additions was sent to the General Assembly in May. Persons frequently avoided taxation by selling or spiriting away property just before the lists were made. Live stock, too, was left out of the list and then killed. These irregularities were all covered by statute.

The Grand List was the basis upon which the General Court levied the tax. It was expressed as a certain per cent. of the listed property, and could be paid in money or "country pay." The proportion of one penny per pound upon the assessed valuation of the persons and estates was at first the usual annual rate. This soon became insufficient to meet the public expenses. Now, when it became customary to double, treble and quadruple the rate, the poll tax as well as the property tax was increased greatly. This reduplication fell with crushing weight upon those who had little or no property.

In October, 1676, during King Philip's War the General Court levied a rate of 18d. a pound, and in the same year the Massachusetts colony levied a rate of 16d. per pound.

EXEMPTIONS

"Another custom that threatened to disturb the equality of the tax was that of exempting towns partially or wholly from the public tax for a certain number of years. Owing to the prudent application of this practice by the General Court it did not result in serious inequality of taxation. Exemptions were given for very good reasons, and in most instances there was a clear understanding that the Colony was not to be at any expense for that town during the period of exemption. Examples of such an 'incouragement' of a town are seen in 1649, on first becoming a town; for a new plantation just founded; to help establish a church, to build a schoolhouse, because of having suffered from ravages of Indians, wars, etc."

COLLECTIONS

The constables often found it difficult to collect the rates and were then compelled to exercise the power of distress. A well-established order of distress was observed, from the seizure of mere movables to the arrest and imprisonment of the person.

Before the man's person could be seized, the constable was required to satisfy the treasurer that there was no property to be taken, after which a warrant was issued empowering the constable to imprison the delinquent person until the next court, unless he gave bail or paid the tax. In case of resistance, violence was not used to the shedding of blood except in self-defense. Distress in any case could not be executed before the July succeeding the levy of the rate, and rates so collected were returned to the treasurer by August 31.

ABATEMENT-DISCOUNT, (SELECTMEN)

"Poor people and persons overcharged in the lists were granted abatement of taxes, either in whole or in part. In the former case, the power of granting such abatement was vested in the majority of the selectmen with the consent of an assistant or a justice of the peace, and the amount was paid by the town."

"An important act was passed February, 1757, introducing a custom which practically amounted to a discount upon taxes paid in advance. The French and Indian War was being waged, and the colony was in need of immediate funds to send out an expedition. The rate granted for carrying on the war was not payable until the last of the

year, but, as the court declared, it was apprehended that there were many rich and wealthy persons in the colony who, to advance the public interest, would readily pay the tax at once upon application. Those who were inclined to do this were allowed five per cent. for all money advanced, from the time of payment to the last of December, at which time their taxes were due. The law of May, 1767, naturally followed, by which interest was charged for all overdue taxes."

QUIT-RENTS

Quit-rents were annual charges on lands in the colonies under proprietary government, and were to be found, to a slight extent, in others. These, in some cases, were sufficient to cover both dues to the proprietors and all public expenses. Lands in colonies non-proprietary were apportioned among the members of the colonizing companies, according to the amount of stock held, or among non-stockholders for certain services rendered. In later settlements, the amount of one's ratable property was made the basis of apportionment. Lands were seldom sold.

FEES AND FINES

Fees were a common source of revenue, and were generally applied to the support of public officials. The minister received fees for marrying, for christening, churching, and burying; the clerk for issuing court-papers and making records, the sheriff for making arrests and inflicting punishment, and so with other officers.

Licenses and fines also yielded considerable revenue. Liquor and marriage licenses, and those imposed on peddlers and lawyers were most common.

Among the fines which yielded revenue may be noticed those for the violation of the sumptuary laws. In 1677, Mary Stebbins was fined ten shillings for wearing silks contrary to law, and sixty-eight persons were accused of indulgence in forbidden luxuries. A heavy fine of a different nature was imposed on Nathaniel Ely, inn-keeper, in 1647, because his beer was not made according to law.

OTHER TAXES

Many singular objects of taxation appear in the lists of some of the colonies. In Virginia, there was a window tax; in Maryland, a tax on bachelors above twenty-five years of age; in New York, a tax on wigs; not to mention others equally odd.

LOTTERIES

Lotteries were not an uncommon device for raising money, especially in the later days of the colonies, when burdens became heavier. Mention of them is made in the Rhode Island records as being employed for such public purposes as buildings and repairing forts, court-houses, market-houses, and even churches. A lottery was established in Maryland in 1768 for the purpose of raising money to support an agent to be sent to England to present to the king the grievances of the people. Pennsylvania raised money by this means for certain public improvements; Virginia for defence in the French and Indian

War, and also for building schools, academies, churches; Connecticut, for erecting buildings for Yale College; and other colonies were doubtless no less forward in their use. "It was with the money collected from the sale of lottery tickets," says McMaster, "that Massachusetts encouraged cotton spinning, and paid the salaries of many of her officers; that the city hall was enlarged at New York; that the court-house was built at Elizabeth; that the library was increased at Harvard; and that many of the most pretentious buildings were put up at the federal city." The Continental Congress, in 1777, established lotteries to raise funds for carrying on the war, and sent agents into all the states to sell tickets..

Indirect taxes were introduced to lighten the burden of taxes upon polls and estates and were the reverse of the usage in New York, where the general property tax was introduced to ease the burden of indirect taxation. These consisted of excises, imposts, and tunnage duties. Of the first there was a beaver tax of one shilling per skin, and on the manufacture and sale of liquors. Licenses were required to sell liquor and to keep taverns, but there are few instances where they were not free from cost. The following would hardly be counted an exception. October, 1664: The General Court granted Samuel Gibbs a license to sell wine, for which privilege he was to present "the Court with an anchor of the best of his wine which the Court desires him to leave with the Governor." This seems to come under the head of special legislation. Out of town peddlers were required to take out licenses until October, 1770, when an attempt was made to favor home industries

by suppressing all peddling. Duties were levied upon imported liquors and tobacco, and in 1696, on the value of imported goods. Tunnage duties were somewhat intermittent and were usually employed in time of war to defray the cost of building lighthouses and maintaining and constructing forts in certain places.

LOCAL TAXATION

During the first few years after the settlement of the towns upon the Connecticut River charges of all kinds were raised by a single tax rate and levied upon the inhabitants by some estimate which they were obliged to pay. Soon, however, the process of differentiation set in. First the expense of unusual undertakings was met by special taxes, next the minister's salary, and finally the tax for educational purposes were separated from the town rate. The first settlers made no distinction between civil and ecclesiastical affairs. The establishment of the town, the church, and the school always went hand in hand. In 1644, a law was passed that every man should state what he would voluntarily give toward the support of the minister, and if any one refused to make a reasonable contribution, he was to be rated by the town authority, and the amount collected by the civil power. The minister's salary was voted in a town meeting in a lump and collected either by regular or special collectors. In some towns the salary was as much as one hundred pounds, and nowhere less than fifty pounds. If the town failed to collect the minister's salary, the town court usually ordered the con-

stable to collect it. By 1667, there began a gradual separation of town and ecclesiastical matters, the point of friction being, of course, the payment of taxes. The town of Hartford ceased to conduct the affairs of the church as early as 1664, while the town of Simsbury continued to legislate until 1722. In 1818, the entire divorcement of state and church was accomplished.

The school was closely identified with the church and in many instances a schoolmaster was the assistant minister. The provision for the maintenance was three-fold, first, appropriation by the town, second, payment by the scholars, and later, appropriation by the colony. The other taxes were of irregular character, most important being the poor rate and special taxes for bridges. Counties were established in 1666, and jails and court-houses were built by county tax, levied by the county court and collected by the constables by warrant from the county treasurer.

STATE SYSTEM

Instead of any one prevailing system in the several colonies (or states) from the foundation of the colonies to 1796, great dissimilarities existed. In 1796, Secretary of the Treasury Wolcott, in his report, called the attention of the Federal Government to the varied forms of taxation in the several states, nearly all of which had adopted their colonial system without change.

The characteristics of local taxation in the United States at the close of the eighteenth century have been given as follows: "(1) Specific objects were usually selected for taxation rather than all property; (2) visible property

bore all, or nearly all, the burden; (3) taxes were usually laid according to some fixed and arbitrary rule of valuation, rather than according to the selling value of the objects taxed."

PRESENT SYSTEM

While great advance has been made in one hundred years in the methods and objects of taxation, human nature has remained about the same. In every town, therefore, inequalities exist; property that should be taxed escapes, and other property bears more than a just share of the burden. Connecticut, however, seems to me to have a larger number of excellent features in her system of taxation than the other states in the Union. Connecticut seems to be the only state in whose constitution the word tax does not appear, neither are there any constitutional limitations or provisions relative to the subject.

As has been well said, Connecticut is one of the most notable examples of a government administered absolutely and entirely by consent of the governed. All of her provisions and regulations relative to the subject of taxation are statutes, and any or all may be changed or stricken out by the next or any future legislature.

"Thucydides said he was a dangerous citizen who gave no attention to politics. When one considers the tremendous importance of taxation one feels inclined to call him a dangerous citizen who gives no attention to principles of taxation," says Ely. Adam Smith, in the "Wealth of Nations," affirms that the fundamental principle of full

and just taxation is that the subjects of every state ought to contribute towards the support of the government as nearly as possible in proportion to their respective abilities. It is said that only two things are certain, death and taxes. If, however, the former were not more certain than the latter we would all live to be as old as Methuselah, and some would live forever.

These inequalities are due not so much to the statutory requirements as to the inadequate enforcement and application of such laws, and the effort on the part of many to avoid their just proportion of the burden. Many of the inequalities of taxation could be remedied if every tax payer would take an active and intelligent interest in the situation and would support the taxing officials in a full and just enforcement of the laws. Nearly every person is willing to pay a fair tax if only he can be assured that his neighbor is paying at the same rate on the same basis of valuation. This seems to me to be the golden rule of taxation.

When this is an actuality—the millennium will be almost at hand.

FOUR LOST LEGACIES OF THE EARLY NEW
ENGLAND CIVIL POLITY

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Printed also in the Transactions of the New London County
Historical Society.



INVITE you to follow me in some studies in the early political history of New England which have, as I conceive, more than an antiquarian interest for us in this later generation and vastly expanded country. I am safe in assuming that the spirit of this patriotic Society will not be wholly out of sympathy with my contention that the prodigious changes which these nearly three centuries have brought to pass in our political methods and political principles have not been, in all cases, in the direction of progress and improvement. I make bold, in the present paper, to point out four characteristics of the polity of the Founders of New England from which we have departed, to the serious detriment of the republic.

I. The first of these is what may properly be called *The Old Colony Referendum*. There is a certain amount of mild agitation going on in our day, on the part of some doctrinaire publicists, in favor of embodying "the referendum" in our state constitutions; by which is meant the adoption of a somewhat clumsy contrivance of certain Swiss political experimenters, by which, on the demand of a prescribed number of voters, any bill passed by the Congress of that republic is submitted to popular assent or veto. It happened to me to be a resident of Switzerland at the time when this constitutional provision went into effect; and from what I then observed, and from what I have since learned, I do not find it to be a particularly valuable working provision—not that it does not work

well, but that it does not do very much work of any quality. A far simpler and more effective provision, worthy, for the wisdom of it, to have survived to our day and to have been imitated in all the constitution-making States, was that requirement in the fundamental law of little Plymouth, that no bill should become a law (emergencies excepted) unless it had lain over from one legislature to the next. The lapse of this most salutary provision is not the least of the losses that civilization suffered in the merger of the little Old Colony with its overshadowing neighbor of the Bay. As compared with the cumbrous piece of mechanism of the Swiss publicists, by which some bills might, if citizens enough should take the trouble to combine, be subjected to a popular vote, it was a simple, automatic general referendum, by which *all* bills were brought under the purview of the body of citizens. No wiser safeguard has since been devised against the malfeasance of representative bodies. If it could be restored to our State constitutions in some such form as this, that unless passed by a two-thirds vote (this exception would provide for all real cases of urgency) no bill should become a law unless read a second time in one legislature and adopted by the next legislature, think what we should gain by it. To begin with, it would tend to reduce the enormous annual output of new legislation which is recognized in all our States as one of the nuisances incident to popular government. It would certainly mitigate in some measure the extemporaneous crudity of it, which often requires each new legislature to spend part of its time in repealing the work of its predecessor. It would hold the

legislature in salutary fear, not only of the governor and his veto, but of the people. Distinctly bad legislation—the job bills, the grab bills, the sneak bills, the snap bills—if not impossible, would become immensely more difficult; and that public enemy, the organized lobby, would find its power suddenly curtailed. What an annual anxiety it would lift from a considerable part of the people! Great corporations and great public interests—the railroad companies, the insurance companies, the trusts, the temperance interest, the liquor interest, the Sunday interest, the anti-Sunday interest, and whatever else there is that has hopes or fears from legislation—would no longer be under the expensive necessity of maintaining their pickets at the State-house to give warning against surprises and ward them off by public pressure or private persuasion. The occupation of the heeler and striker, if not abolished, would become a much less paying business than it is now generally understood to be. But while corruptionists would be discouraged and disgusted, honest citizens would come to their rights. This remanding to the people, so damaging to bad or doubtful projects, would be simply invigorating to such as should have merit enough to bear the sunlight and the breeze of protracted public discussion.

The restoration of the Old Colony Referendum would have even a more beneficent result in the regeneration of State politics. As things now are, our State elections deal mainly with the popularity or the paltry personal ambitions of Jones or Brown or Smith, or, worse than that, with matters of national party politics with which State officers have no more to do than with Mr. Joe Chamberlain's

colonial schemes. In most States a state election is not much more than a game to bet on, like a horse-trot or a college football match. Under the Old Colony Referendum, the pending questions of State and local policy laid over from the last legislature would be distinct, definite issues before the people, inviting the study of intelligent citizens, and provoking debate in every town meeting and every voting precinct. Every State electoral campaign would be a "campaign of education." I do not mean that the measures would be voted on directly by the people;—that is the awkward Swiss way. Neither would they be the subject of formal instruction to the representative from his constituents, which was the French Jacobin way. But these measures would be the points on which candidates would be questioned, and on which elections would turn. Can any reform be suggested which would have a more healthful tendency to accomplish that great political desideratum, the breaking up of the vicious connection between town and State affairs on the one hand, and national parties on the other hand, under which citizens are every year clamorously solicited to subordinate their political home duties to some supposed necessity of supporting the national administration or of condemning it?

This, remember, was a characteristic feature of the fundamental law of "the Old Colony" of little Plymouth. I am no blind bigot in my admiration of the Pilgrims. I am not prepared to admit that the Separatism of Plymouth was a higher and truer churchmanship than the Nationalism of Salem and Boston. But I am struck with wonder at the high wisdom of the Pilgrims in their found-

ing of the civil state. There were many bold and original strokes of political reform delivered in those early New England days. There was the splendid *coup d'état* of the Bay colonists in bringing their charter across the seas and so creating an autonomous state. There was the great law reform of the New Haven men, by which they dropped overboard, as they sailed, the precedents of English law—common law, statute law and canon law—and gave their republic a fresh start from the Pentateuch, resolving, as the historian Knickerbocker puts it, to be governed by the laws of God until they had time to make better for themselves. There was the glory of the Connecticut colonists, framing, with prophetic wisdom, the first written constitution of government in human history. And high over these is the excelling glory of the Pilgrims, that they did nothing of the kind, but just let their feeble republic alone to grow into shape of itself, taking such body as it should please God to give. Their grand deeds were well matched by the grandeur of their not doing. Here we find one of those contrasts that the muse of history delights in. On the one hand are these thoughtful men in the poverty of Plymouth, living all in the future, with every temptation to great schemes and visionary projects, patiently waiting year by year for the slow strokes of Divine Providence to fashion their little State into the mould of a world-wide empire; and on the other hand, fifty years later, beyond the sea, the greatest philosopher and the smartest politician in all England, John Locke and Lord Shaftesbury, sitting in the golden sunshine of a monarch's favor, are putting their sagacious heads together to produce a constitution

for the Carolinas that has been the laughing stock of history from that day to this.

II. By far the most important and most original contribution of early New England to the science of polity was the principle of *majority government*. We have lost it now and taken instead the principle of government by plurality, that is, ordinarily, government by minorities. We have traded off our hereditary birthright, and gotten in exchange for it a mess of pottage, and an ill-smelling and unsavory mess at that. How much we have lost, what intolerable mischiefs we have invited upon ourselves, by thus abandoning the wise usage of our fathers, we have had only a limited means of proving in our own experience; for it is only within the memory of this generation that this invaluable muniment of freedom has been thrown away in Massachusetts, and still more lately in Connecticut. But we have only to look beyond the western boundary line, to where the plurality system, in the State and City of New York, has for generations had its perfect work, to see what abuses it is capable of producing. In New York City, in almost every vigorously contested election for many years, until this last year, it has been demonstrated that the majority of the citizens were opposed to the domination of Tammany Hall; nevertheless, with only occasional and brief interruptions, Tammany has held the domination from year to year and decade to decade. Sometimes its domination has been put in serious jeopardy. In 1886 a powerful movement to overthrow it drove the Tammany wigwam to the desperate expedient of nominating an honest man (Mr. Hewitt) for Mayor.

When a corrupt party nominates an honest man, it is a sign of woe indeed. Everything portended a Waterloo defeat for Tammany, for the opposition of good citizens was solid. The only hope of the thieves lay in dividing the opposition. Just then a brilliant and enthusiastic young Republican was induced—no doubt by the best of motives—to put himself at the head of a “straight” Republican ticket; and Tammany was saved! The vote against Tammany was, in round numbers 130,000, to 90,000 in its favor. But the patriotic young Republican had succeeded in splitting the opposition vote nearly in the middle, and Tammany, condemned by a hostile majority of nearly 40,000, held control of the great city, saved, in its hour of peril, by the sagacious management of Mr. Croker, aided by the undoubtedly conscientious partisanship, I regret to say, of Mr. Theodore Roosevelt.

In 1897 came an even more momentous crisis, which was to decide the fate not only of New York, but of greater New York, and not for a year only, but for four years. The sole question before the people was: Shall a notoriously corrupt ring, managed by a coarse, odious and generally detested boss, be placed in almost absolute control of the immense interests of the great metropolis? The people declared, by a majority of 58,000, We will not have this gang to rule over us. Whereupon the defeated party mounted gaily to the box, gripped the reins and the whip, and every brothel and gambling hell in the city was illuminated in honor of the triumph of the minority. The conscientious politician who saved Tammany this time by dividing the opposition in favor of a straight Republican

ticket was General Tracy, once Secretary of the Navy. If it had not been Tracy, it would have been some one else. Mr. Croker rarely had any difficulty in finding a man, and a good man—no other kind will answer the purpose—to render him this indispensable service. At this election, there were not only two anti-Tammany candidates in the field, but three, all good men—excellent men; the more of them there were, and the better they were, the more Tammany was pleased. Intelligent citizens were at a loss which of the three to vote for, and many saw no use of voting at all in so hopeless a case. It was an easy walk-over for Tammany. Suppose the three opposition parties to be about equal to each other, and the stayers at home who saw no use in voting at all to be another equal share, Tammany had only to cast one-fifth of the votes plus one, and the remaining four-fifths were of no avail. By virtue (if it is proper to speak of virtue in this connection) of a good working *minority*, the gang of thieves came legally and constitutionally into possession of the city government for the next four years.

Since then we have been witnessing twice over the agonizing periodical anxiety of good citizens of New York over the always doubtful question, can we manage to fuse together the various elements of opposition to the enemies of society? On so risky a question depends the control, for good or evil, of so many millions of people, and so many thousand millions of property!

Now suppose the charter of Greater New York had been framed in accordance with the old New England principle of majority government, with this provision, that no officer

should be held to be elected unless receiving a majority of all votes cast, supplemented by this other provision that, failing a majority for any candidate on the first ballot, the matter should go back to the people within eighty days, to choose between the two highest candidates; how would these provisions operate?

1. They would begin operating long before election day. Months before, there would be searchings of heart among all bosses of all parties. The comfortable understanding heretofore subsisting between the two leading party leaders, that whichever way the election goes, they two are, between them, sure of the spoils, is thenceforth impossible; the people have a veto on them both. The caucus would still assemble, as it ought to; but it would be overshadowed by the chilling but salutary consciousness that its action was liable to be reversed at the polls by the free and unembarrassed action of the bolter and the kicker. It would have to nominate in such a way as to prevent disaffection and propitiate confidence. An objectionable candidate on any ticket might be blackballed by the men of his own party, without thereby turning over the election to the opposite party. A corrupt party would not be able to hold together its own men.

2. As election day approached, there would be no distressing anxiety among good citizens as to whether this man, or that, or the other, would be most likely to unite all the friends of good government. Union would be desirable, of course, but not indispensable. Any honest vote would be effective, and no man would have this excuse for staying at home, that there was no use in voting.

All parties and factions and fads would have a fair chance. Straight Democrat or Reform Democrat, Republican or Fusionist, Socialist or Prohibitionist or Single-taxer or whatever else, would have the opportunity to show his strength and make his moral demonstration, for what it might be worth, without being scared out of his liberty of suffrage by the party bugaboo and the cry that he was throwing away his vote and giving the election to the enemy. If among the candidates nominated under these severe conditions one was found who, by his personal qualities or the strength of numbers at his back, commanded a clear majority of the voters, he would be elected, and no other man could be.

3. But suppose the other case—that there is no clear majority, and no choice; what then? Why then there has been held, under all the sanctions that legislation can provide, free to every voter without distinction of party, a great *nominating convention* of the whole people, which has put in nomination two candidates to be voted for that day week. There will be a square fight. That little game by which a knot of adroit intriguers, handling a good working minority of votes, has for decade after decade held dominion over the great metropolis in spite of the demonstrated will of the people, the little game of Tammany, which is the game of all the little Tammanys that are to be found the country over, in every town and city, is blocked forever. The individual citizen is rehabilitated, and the people have come to their rights again.

Not the least of the public benefits to be expected from the restoration of majority government is that it would

permit the several States to clear their statute books of the caucus laws now so generally in use. Doubtless under the plurality system they are a necessary evil; for it is under this system, and this alone, that the power of the caucus is a public peril, to be guarded against by drastic methods; and these are certainly drastic enough. Instead of abating the power of the party machine, they aggravate it to the danger point, enabling it to intrench itself in the statute-book; giving it recognition before the law with no corresponding responsibility to the law; seeming to give the citizens, so far as they are obedient partisans, power over the machine, but really confirming the machine in its power over the citizens; completing the practical disfranchisement of the non-partisan citizen. Doubtless these laws bring some relief from the impudent frauds that have been common in the nomination business. But the good they may do is more than offset by the adopting of party organization as part of the fixed, legal machinery of government. Perhaps no constitutional amendment that has ever been adopted is of graver consequence than this device of gearing the party machine into the mechanism of the State. It is a thing to beware of.

I am fully prepared to show that the dynasty of Platt in the State of New York, of Quay in Pennsylvania, and of the den of thieves in Philadelphia are consequences of the same system. But time fails and I must content myself with this one instance of the Tammany despotism, as showing to what abuse a free people is liable, without the safeguard of the New England principle of majority government.

How came this political principle to be adopted in all the New England colonies but one, when there was no precedent for it in Old England, nor, so far as I know, anywhere else in history? It is an interesting question on which much might be said, if there were time. But however it originated, here it was, and here it stayed till within the memory of some of us now living. And what it did to save the cause of freedom and human rights in New England and in America, and what it may yet do, if it can be got back into the place which it ought never to have lost, to save all the States from the shame into which Pennsylvania and New York have fallen, are subjects worth your pondering. Let me tell the story from the Massachusetts point of view.

The importance of majority election did not show at first. When there are no parties and only one ticket, one mode of election is as good as another. When there are two parties and no scattering vote, a plurality and a majority are the same thing. But let the time come when grave questions set honest and earnest men a-thinking, and votes begin to scatter, it becomes a serious question whether scattering votes are to be reckoned as of any account, or not.

Well, that time did come. Whig leaders and Democratic leaders, bidding against each other, committed their parties to the compromise of principles of right and justice, in favor of great national partisan interests. Then it began to appear whether a scattering vote was worth anything. Presently, in the election returns, alongside of the Whig column and the Democratic column, each with its

thousands of votes, appeared a little trickling rill of a third column—"scattering" ten, or a dozen, or a score. And the party leaders were pleasantly amused, and said: "O, you had better give it up; you are only wasting your vote; you never can get your man in; you will have to choose between the two leading candidates." And birds of ill omen, perched along the ridge-pole of the Liberator office, sat simply croaking in a dismal row, "It is of no use; better let politics alone and come and croak with us up here." But that was before the scattering vote had been disfranchised in Massachusetts; and the answer was made—it could not be made to-day—"Perhaps we cannot get our man in; we can keep both your men out." And they did it. One congressional election after another was hung up with "no choice"—(it is said that in one district there were no less than forty ineffectual ballotings)—until it was forced in upon the minds of the politicians that these obstinate and impracticable people must be reckoned with. So it came to pass that, by the power of *the scattering vote*, the free citizens of Massachusetts, in spite of Whig, in spite of Democrat, and in spite of the venomous little gang of Garrison anarchists, were able to send to the Senate Charles Sumner and Henry Wilson, and to place in the House of Representatives New England incarnate in the person of Eli Thayer, the man who abolished slavery.

How came this priceless muniment of popular liberty to be lost? The story is worth telling.

The latest of those constitutional conventions which make so noble a feature of Massachusetts history was held at a time (1854) when the growth of a third party caused

the inconveniences incidental to majority election to be keenly felt by the two parties which had so long divided between them the supremacy of the State. It was natural enough that some should be eager to cut off the inconveniences at a stroke by disfranchising the scattering vote—counting it, to be sure, and reporting it, but treating it otherwise as of no practical importance. It was demanded that Massachusetts should abandon the most honorable and distinguishing feature of her immemorial polity, and adopt the principle of plurality election, and let minorities govern. The question was freely debated in as able a political assembly as ever sat; and great as were the temptations, the demand was resisted and refused. Even case-hardened politicians, like the two Benjamins, Hallett of Boston and Butler of Lowell, rose, for the moment, to the dignity of a statesmanship worthy of the august body of which they were members, and declared that, speaking as politicians, they would welcome the change; speaking as citizens, they must reject it. In the spirit of that unknown Roman who planted a rose on the grave of Nero, I tender this humble tribute to the memory of Ben Butler.

How it happened that in that noble body no one had the gumption to propose retaining the vital principle of majority election, while clearing it of the liability to prolonged deadlocks, I do not know. But so it was. The great convention held firmly to the principle of majority government as a safeguard against party tyranny too precious to be lost. But the needed limitations were not provided. Election contests were tediously protracted, till at

last the people lost patience and burned the barn to get rid of the rats. What the great convention had held fast as an invaluable muniment of freedom, some later legislature by a snap vote tossed into the scrap heap. It was a revolution.

The story in Connecticut has been different. Here the alternative to a majority election of State officers has been to turn the choice over to a rotten-borough legislature, that could be relied on to defeat the popular will more effectually than even the plurality system could do it. If no other course had been open, the lapse into plurality election and minority government would have been justified.

The hour is approaching when this elect people, whose are the fathers, and whose boast it is that they never were in bondage to any man, will awake to the consciousness that they have ceased to be governed by the free majority of their own votes, and have come to be dominated, not even by a party, but by the fraction of a party, by the ring of a faction, and by the boss of a ring. What separates you from the boss tyranny that prevails in New York and Pennsylvania is only the possible interval of a very few years. The very expedients used for warding off this result are bringing it nearer. Your laws for the recognition, sanction and regulation of the primary meeting give a firmer grip to the professional politician, and give the individual citizen to understand that he may have an effective voice in the affairs of the State only on condition of being broken to the harness and wearing the collar of some organized party.

The way out of these difficulties, present and prospective,

is to back out, the way you came in. Returning to the original principles of the Commonwealth, we do not indeed get rid of parties and caucuses; we do not want to. We get rid only of the arrogant and insolent supremacy of them. Thenceforth they would understand their responsibility to the people—not only to the party, but to the kicker, the bolter and the mugwump, whom their souls abhor, but whom then it would be no longer safe to treat as a negligible quantity. At the polls the citizen would no longer be shut up to the wretched alternative, either to make choice between two evils, or to fire a blank cartridge into the air. He would be free to defeat the candidate without helping elect the other candidate. The disciplined legions of the Pennsylvania Republicans could no longer be marched to the ballot-box in solid column to vote the machine ticket, after they found that they could defeat the ticket without turning the State over to the Democrats. Citizens of New York, whose one desire is so to vote as to rout the den of thieves that has ruled and plundered them these fifty years, would no longer be subject to distraction by the rival clamors of two or three opposition parties, each shouting that votes would be simply wasted that were cast for the other candidate. Given the majority principle, and ring rule in New York is dead beyond resurrection. Without it, a ring despotism is impending for Boston and Worcester, for Hartford and New Haven.

I had hoped to speak fully of two other of our Lost Legacies, illustrating the political wisdom of our fathers, and the unwisdom of some of their successors. Let me at least mention them.

III. That noble law reform in which originated the admirable old *License Laws* of the New England Colonies and States. It took the immemorial English abuse of granting money-making monopolies to court favorites, and transfigured it into a wise and salutary system of license legislation for controlling, in the interest of the public safety, certain necessary but dangerous sorts of business. It was due to this reform that these colonies, and then these States, had for so many generations, down to the time when the temperance men and the temperance women began monkeying with the statutes, that license law controlling the sale of intoxicating liquors, under which no liquor-saloon or bar-room or tippling-house could legally exist within the Commonwealth—the best prohibitory law that has yet been devised. Through the more or less unconscious coöperation of the temperance reformers with the liquor-selling interest, we have lost, not only the law, but the very idea of sound license legislation. It has suited the policy of the so-called prohibitionists to represent that license legislation is simply an expedient by which the Commonwealth seeks to collect blood-money by compounding with a business essentially criminal; and that the business of a licensing board is to sell permits for doing mischief to cash customers over the counter; and this definition, that suited the prohibitionist, equally suited the basest elements in the liquor-selling interest. So through the mutual helpfulness of these two antagonistic parties the historic conception of sound license legislation has been lost out of the popular mind, and the ideal of the fathers

has been miserably perverted and corrupted. With the connivance of zealous reformers the license laws have been made low and lax; and to the delight of the liquor-dealers the alternative prohibition has been made rigorous and annoying, and the result is what we see it to be to-day. The right use of license laws is indicated on one of the earliest pages of Winthrop's Journal; the working of it is illustrated in a striking passage in the Travels of President Dwight, a hundred years ago, contrasting the orderly New England tavern, controlled by the salutary license law of that time, with the debased and demoralizing character of the taverns across the New York line, where our modern corrupt idea of license as a measure "for revenue only" was already in vogue. It was one of the foremost students of New England history, and at the same time one of the earliest and life-long champions of the Temperance Reformation, who, at the end of sixty years of public service, declared that, after witnessing the many experiments in temperance legislation from 1825 onward, he was satisfied that the best of all laws governing that subject was a good license law.

IV. Finally the most precious of our lost legacies from the fathers is the ideal of citizenship as a solemn trust conferred by the State upon worthily qualified persons, to be executed under oath, with sole reference to "the public weal, without respect of persons or favor of any man." The admission to the franchise, in the old time, was like the investiture of a monarch; and the Freeman's Oath, "by the great and dreadful name of the ever-living God"

consecrating the freeman to his high function, was like the coronation oath of a king. The notion that to have a share in the responsibility of government is a universal and inalienable right of humanity, a *harpagma* for every one to snatch at for his own behoof, had no place in the New England polity. That high privilege, that solemn duty, was to be conferred on those who would use it worthily, and on no others. Doubtless through the successive generations there has been many a lapse from the realization of this ideal. But it has been reserved to our own time to witness the open abandonment and repudiation of it. We owe the debasement of the moral standard of public life in part, perhaps we ought to say in large part, to that woman suffrage movement which gave such lavish promises of the angelic purification of politics. Its major premise was that everybody had a natural right to vote; and its argument was that if this right should be conceded to women, they would use it to promote their own interests as a class. It was exactly in the line of this reasoning when the nation, in a disastrous hour, conferred the suffrage, at a single stroke, on many myriads of persons notoriously incapable of using it aright, and did this with the openly avowed purpose that they should use it, not "for the public weal," but as a defensive weapon, and for the advancement of their race interests; whereupon they were not slow to better the instruction. From this point it is not so very long a descent, by natural gravitation, to that lower deep of the Delaware idea—an idea which is alleged to be not a total stranger in more

northern latitudes—the idea that a freeman's right of suffrage is a snug piece of personal property, having an appreciable market value in cash, that is to be disposed of to the highest bidder. Is this, or is it not, the level to which our political life is settling down? The question is worth our pondering.

THE OLD-TIME GAME OF WICKET
AND
SOME OLD-TIME WICKET PLAYERS.

GEORGE DUDLEY SEYMOUR, Esq.



WELL remember lying on the grass that fringed the village green near the Meeting House on the top of the hill one drowsy summer afternoon watching a game of wicket. A village green and a Meeting House on the top of a hill are characteristic features of many Connecticut towns; I must therefore be more explicit and say that I am referring to Bristol, an offshoot of the old town of Farmington, in Hartford County. When I lived in Bristol the Meeting House with its great Doric columns and square tower faced the "Academy," which has long since disappeared, as well as the curious little gambrel-roofed house which Abel Lewis built near the site of the old Episcopal Church to be used as a store and as an excuse, as I have sometimes imagined, for utilizing in a *secular* way the round-headed windows of the church which, wrecked and defiled, he had bought and converted into a barn after that "pesky nest of tories" had been broken up in Revolutionary days. The Lewises were Congregationalists and had a severe and telling apprehension of the truth of the Calvinistic scheme of salvation. To-day St. Joseph's Church, the parochial residence, and a parochial school face the Green. But no matter about the changes. With this introduction I may be allowed to go on, or rather go back to where I was lying on the grass. I was a small boy, but young as I was, I felt a vague sense of strangeness about it all because even then wicket was virtually obsolete and played only occasionally, not exactly as a revival, but rather as a matter of local

pride and to keep the traditions of the game alive, as well as to give the old wicketers a chance to stretch their muscles. Already the more strenuous game of baseball had pushed wicket into the background and claimed the younger men. A born antiquary, I had an inquiring mind about the past and tried to find out the origin of the game and how long it had been played. My father had been an expert wicketeer in his day, and my brother, although first of all a baseball player, was impressed into service whenever a game of wicket was played, and as a wicketeer upheld the traditions of his father's game. But I never succeeded in gathering much information about the game from my father more than that it was the great game of his boyhood in New Hartford, where he was born and spent his boyhood, and where, as it seemed to him, it had always been played. Turn where I would, I could learn no more than that the game had come down from early colonial times and that formerly it had been extensively played throughout the State, notably in Hartford and Litchfield Counties. The towns of Wethersfield, Newington and New Britain had within recent years had wicket teams and still boasted of some players, but in my boyhood the game as an organized institution had survived only in Bristol, where records of the game had been kept for many years.* Indeed, the old clock-town felt a peculiar distinction in being the last stronghold, as it were, of the game which had its origin in Old England, and which

*A chronological list of the games with the names of the players and the runs made by each player has been kept in a large account book. This book has long been in the custody of Mr. Henry B. Cook, to whom the writer is indebted for the loan of it.

from a date long prior to the Revolution, had been a favorite pastime. That is was better suited to the Age of Homespun than to our own, is perhaps not altogether to our credit.

When Bristol had its "Old Home Week" celebration in the fall of 1903, the game was very properly revived. A challenge was sent to some scattering players in Wethersfield, Newington and New Britain, and a great match was arranged to be umpired by Governor Chamberlain, who, in his time, had been a star player in New Britain, and had played in the ever memorable championship game of 1859. My brother-in-law, Mr. Miles Lewis Peck, the Captain of the Bristol Club, rallied the old players and filled in the gaps in his team. Here local pride came in and almost made a quarrel. Certain interlopers, fascinated by the sport as they saw the practice games, tried to have themselves enrolled on the Bristol team to the exclusion of the native-born aspirants, who indignantly claimed their right and had it allowed. The game was called at ten o'clock in the forenoon and played, without interruption, until half-past three. It would be difficult to say which excited the most interest—the game or the spectators. The match had been widely heralded; and to see it came not only the curious, but also many old players, retired long ago to their rocking-chairs, in which, as a matter of fact, some of them were brought to the field. I saw the game, or as much of it as I had time for, and I was stimulated anew to find out something more of its history; but, as before, my inquiries were fruitless.

No historian has devoted his attention to the sports and

pastimes of our colonial period, and for information I have had to turn to the pages of the diarist and traveller, and to the files of old newspapers.

I may say, in the first place, that the American game of wicket, or, as it was sometimes called, cricket, is essentially the noble old English game of cricket, the national pastime of Englishmen. The main difference between the two games is that in wicket the wicket is placed on two blocks which lift it only about four inches above the ground, while in cricket, three supports lift two bails to a height of twenty inches or more above the ground. In wicket the ball is bowled or rolled along the ground; in cricket the ball is bowled, as it is said, but in reality thrown, and hence the English term "throwing bowling." I need not say that the literature of the English game is extensive. Different authorities give different sources for the origin of the game. Some writers advance the theory that it is derived either from stoole-ball or club-ball—both very ancient games of ball. Daly in "Polo, Past and Present," derives all games played with ball and stick, including cricket, golf, hockey, and the national Irish game of hurling, from polo, of which he says they are but dismounted forms. Polo originated in the far East, probably in Persia, where games on horse-back are still the great national sport and are played with magnificent dash and enthusiasm. If Daly is correct in his view that cricket as played in Old England is but a form of dismounted polo, the same must be true of our New England wicket, which as shown is but a modified, and perhaps an earlier, form of cricket than that now

played in England. Always being modified in form, the persistence of games like the persistence of customs and superstitions is admitted, and those who enjoy speculation may like to connect the wicket-players on our village greens with half savage horsemen, dashing on their wiry barbs over the open plains of Persia. It may at least be said that our game of wicket with its low wickets and ball, rolled on the ground rather than thrown, allies itself more readily to polo than cricket, in which the wickets are carried on high supports and the ball is thrown. But whatever its origin, the present English game of cricket did not come into vogue until the beginning of the 18th century, and was soon brought to this country. Just when wicket, the American game, acquired its distinctive form, I cannot discover—whether before or after it was first brought here. It is not unlikely that in the England of two hundred years ago cricket was sometimes called wicket. I am led to think so because the very first reference to the game in America is to wicket. As both cricket and wicket may have been derived from stoole-ball, though Strutt says club-ball, I cannot refrain from noticing what I believe to be the first reference to ball-playing on this continent.

“On Christmas day, 1621,” says Mr. Kittredge in his “The Old Farmer and His Almanac,” “Governor Bradford had an amusing encounter with some of his raw recruits, who had arrived on the ship ‘Fortune’ the month before. There were thirty-five of these newcomers, and, to use the Governor’s own words, ‘most of them were lusty yonge men, and many of them wild enough.’” The

Governor, who seems to have had the saving grace of humor, which he had need of, himself admits that the circumstance is one "rather of mirth than of waight." Let me read the entry as he wrote it in his now famous history:

"One y^e day called Christmas-day, y^e Gov^r caled them out to worke, (as was used), but y^e most of this new-company excused them selves and said it wente against their consciences to work on y^t day. So y^e Gov^r tould them that if they made it mater of conscience, he would spare them till they were better informed. So he led-away y^e rest and left them; but when they came home at noone from their worke, he found them in y^e streete at play, openly; some pitching y^e barr, & some at stoole-ball, and shuch like sports. So he went to them, and took away their implements, and tould them that was against his conscience, that they should play & others worke. If they made y^e keeping of it mater of devotion, let them kepe their houses, but ther should be no gameing or revelling in y^e streets. Since which time nothing hath been attempted that way, at least openly."

The good old Governor's use of the word "implements" to describe the "barr" and the "stoole-ball" which, in the exercise of his paternal authority, he took away from those "yonge men," shows how careful he was to keep his own skirts clear from contamination with "shuch like sports." One cannot help hoping that the boys got the "barr" and "stoole-ball" back again and managed to rebuke the Governor for his meddling.

The game of wicket, so far as I have been able to discover, was not played until one hundred odd years later, and my first record of it shows that it then involved the infraction of high authority with disastrous conse-

quences—not Governor Bradford this time, but the Mirror of Old Boston, the amiable and fussy Judge Sewall, Mentor and Diarist. Under date of March 15th, 1725-26, he writes:

“Sam. Hirst got up betimes in the morning, and took Ben Swett with him and went into the (Boston) Comfon to play at Wicket. Went before any body was up, left the door open; Sam came not to prayer; at which I was much displeased.”

Was the learned Judge more displeased with Sam for leaving the door open, or for coming “not to prayer”? Two days later this careless and incorrigible Sam Hirst repeated the offense. Under date of March 17th the Judge writes:

“Did the like again, but took not Ben with him. I told him he could not lodge here practising thus. So he lodged elsewhere.”

Sam Hirst, the first old-time wicket player on my list, grandson of the diarist, was born in 1705, and graduated from Harvard College in 1723. He was therefore between 20 and 21 years of age when his grandfather turned him out of his house for twice indulging before breakfast in the game of wicket on Boston Common.

I am in doubt about giving little Ben Swett a place on my list. Did he actually play or not? Perhaps not; on March 17th Sam “took not Ben with him.” But I could wish a green, if belated, bay for our boy enthusiast who had the courage to go at all. Born in 1713, the son of Samuel Sewall, a cousin of the Judge, Ben was only about thirteen at the time he stole away with his cousin Sam to play, or to watch a game of wicket on Boston Common. I may be mistaken, but I think it more than likely that at

this time the game had just been introduced into New England, and that this accounts for Sam Hirst's passion for it. It must be remembered that the game of cricket in anything like its present form did not begin to be played in Old England until a few years prior to this.

So far as I can learn, the game never became popular in the Massachusetts Colony, and I have not found a single reference to it later than this entry in Judge Sewall's Diary. Undoubtedly the game was played to some extent, and a more exhaustive examination of all sources of information would probably disclose references to it. I must believe, however, that the game never obtained much of a foothold in Massachusetts. Until recently cricket has been played by the boys at St. Paul's School, Concord, but their game was not, I think, a successor of wicket but a recent importation of cricket.

In an unsigned note, entitled "Cricket in America," to be found in Vol. 48 of "The Saturday Review," page 170, this statement occurs:

"Cricket has been played in America for over a century. It was exported thither from its home on British soil before 1747. Englishmen who had gone out to build themselves new homes in a young and growing country, carried with them their love of the noble sport. The earliest known games in America were played in the lower part of New York City where Fulton Market now stands. The Gazette and Weekly Post Boy gave an account of a game played there on May 1st, 1751. The contestants were eleven London men and eleven New Yorkers; and strange to say, the New Yorkers won, making 80 and 86 to their opponents' 43 and 37."

Here the game is called "cricket," and the circumstances

would warrant the inference that the game was the English game as played in England at that time. It may well be that our game of wicket follows the *old* English game more closely than the game now played in England under the rules laid down by the great English cricket clubs. At all events, the present English game is a much more highly developed game than ours. The comparative newness of the English game of cricket is well illustrated by the fact that the first match game in England of which there is any record was played between "Kent" and "All England" in 1746—only five years before the game played between the "Londoners" and "New Yorkers" in 1751. I daresay the New Yorkers had neither the patience nor the time for cricket, and foresaw that it could not be acclimated. At any rate, the game apparently gained no foothold there. A century later the game was played to a very limited extent in the City of Brooklyn, where it was transplanted, as I am bound to believe, from Connecticut—probably by Bristol clock makers, who went to Brooklyn to engage in work there at the time the factories of the Ansonia Clock Company were established in that city. By 1751 the game had become widely popular in England, and was played by all classes, though the participation of men of rank in the game gave rise to many protests. In the same year as the match game in New York between "New Yorkers" and "Londoners," Frederick, Prince of Wales, died from internal injuries caused by a blow from a cricket ball while playing at Cliefden House.*

* This on the authority of Sir Nathaniel William Wraxall. Horace Walpole attributed the death of the Prince to a blow from a tennis ball—a more aristocratic attribution and one far more likely to appeal to Walpole.

How or when the game was introduced into Connecticut I cannot tell; but it was unquestionably being played in Hartford County with great enthusiasm as early as 1767. I am not prepared to say that the game was fostered by the established church of Connecticut, or has any connection with Congregationalism. But at any rate, the earliest reference to it I have been able to find for Connecticut occurs in Dr. Parker's "History of the Second Church of Christ in Hartford," in which he prints on page 136 the following challenge—breezy with local spirit:

Hartford, May 30th, 1767

"whereas a challenge was given by fifteen men south of the great bridge in Hartford to an equal number north of said bridge, to play a game of cricket the day after the last election; the Public are hereby informed that the challenged beat the challengers by a great majority. Now said North do hereby acquaint the South side, that they are not afraid to meet them with any number they shall choose, and give them the liberty of picking their men among themselves, and also the best players both in the West Division and Wethersfield. Witness our hands (in the name of the whole company).

William Pratt,
Niell McLean Jr."

In this challenge the game is called "cricket," though subsequently it seems to have been generally called "wicket"—the term used by Judge Sewall. The Hartford

Tennis was the royal game of England and of France; that was enough for him. The curious may see *The History and Posthumous Memoirs of Sir Nathaniel William Wraxall*, ed. by Wheatley, Vol. I., p. 308, and Walpole's *Memoirs of the Reign of George II*, 2nd ed. (1846), Vol. I., p. 72.

game was played as an aftermath of election, and with fifteen men on a side, but apparently the number of players was optional then as now, because this challenge reads, "that they are not afraid to meet them with any number they shall choose." The reference to men of Wethersfield leads me to remark that the game was always very popular there. There are still a few scattering players in Wethersfield, though no organization. Perhaps the broad open fields of Wethersfield fostered the game just as the broad open downs of the southern counties of England did, for there was the true birthplace of the English game in its developed state. I was curious to learn how this challenge found its way into Dr. Parker's book, and wrote him about it. He could only say in reply that the challenge was written on a loose sheet of paper, and just how it found its way into his collection, or what has become of it, he does not know. It is more than likely that the early files of the "Hartford Courant" contain some notices of games, though in those earlier and ruder days sporting editors and sporting reporters were unknown. I feel certain that at least from 1767, the game was played with practically unabated interest, particularly in Hartford and Litchfield Counties, up to the middle of the 19th century, when baseball appeared as its rival. Baseball, a development of the old English game of rounders, first appeared about 1845, but made slow headway until 1865, when it seems to have been taken up all over the country. Then the good old game of wicket was doomed. It lingered on in Hartford and Litchfield Counties for a few years, and a few players remain, but the game is now practically obsolete. It was

inevitable that the game should be superseded by one more in consonance with the American spirit. "Americans," says one writer, "do not possess the patience of Englishmen and do not care to witness a cricket match which may extend to three days and then remain undecided." We require an intense, snappy game, in which all of the excitement is compressed into an hour or two. Such a game is baseball, which, however, has the very serious defect of placing too much power in the hands of the umpire.

In a "History of America" published in Edinburgh in 1800, Edward Oliphant, the writer, says in describing New England (page 113): "The athletic and healthy diversions of cricket, foot ball, quoits, wrestling, jumping, hopping, foot races and prison base are universally practiced in this country, and some of them in the most populous places, and by people of almost all ranks."

This note is somewhat unsatisfactory because it does not appear of what section of New England he is writing, nor what opportunities he had for verifying his statements.

From Hartford, where the game was played, as we have seen, with enthusiasm as early as 1767, it was undoubtedly taken to Litchfield County, where it became widely popular. From thence it spread, as I surmise, into the Berkshire region of Western Massachusetts. I have the authority of Professor Louis V. Pirsson of Yale for saying that it was played in the region of Pittsfield some thirty-five years ago, but only to a limited extent. The towns of Litchfield and New Hartford were great centers for the game. Torrington and Waterbury boasted of good players. Our

former Governor, Hon. Frederick John Kingsbury of Waterbury, writes that he well remembers the game as played in Waterbury, where he thinks the game was at its height between 1830 and 1840. The game described by Mr. Kingsbury is the American game, but like the English game, called for three supports and two wickets. This feature I have not met with elsewhere.* If the degree of excitement is in direct proportion to the number of heroes engaged, a game of wicket should arouse a community to a higher pitch of enthusiasm than baseball. Thirty players on a side was the usual number, sixty players in all. It must be observed, too, that in this country the best men in the community played the game. I do not mean to say that the teams were wholly or even largely composed of picked men, but every team was pretty sure to include a few of the best men in the community, and these kept the game free from bickerings and rowdiness. The taint of professionalism always attached to baseball was conspicuously absent. I am convinced that wicket was the more wholesome sport, and certainly had the merit of engaging actively a larger number of men than baseball. On the other hand, it is a less interesting game to watch. The most patriotic Englishmen admit that, as a spectacle, cricket is fatiguing.

Here and there I find mention made of the game being played on "training" and "election" days; but wicket

* Since the foregoing was written I have learned from Mr. George M. Curtis of Meriden that as he recalls the game the wickets were carried on three supports, in this respect following cricket. Why Waterbury and Meriden should stand together in this variant of the game I do not pretend to know.

required too much time to be given a second place on such crowded days. I am disposed to think that its devotees were willing to give the best of a day to it, though it is true that "training" and "election" days were great occasions for indulgence in all forms of athletic sports by the colonists and their immediate descendants. Madam Knight, in her inimitable journal of her ride from Boston to New York in 1704, speaks of ball-playing in Connecticut. She does not refer to wicket, but the English game of cricket had not taken on anything like its present form until 1702, and was not, so far as I can learn, played here much before Judge Sewall made the entry in his diary in 1725-6 already quoted from. Our colonists had the passion of the English for sports in the open, and they missed the English holidays, for which they found a substitute in "election" and "training" days. Hence Madam Knight's reference to "Saint Election." It may be thought too great a tax upon credulity to connect the game of wicket as played on our village greens with the games of Persian horsemen, but it must be admitted that in playing games of all sorts on "training" and "election" days our colonists were transferring to those days the games which their English forebears had long played on Saints days—days originally devoted by the priests to miracle plays, which in the course of time gave way to purely secular entertainments. It is hard to believe that the merry-go-round and the shooting gallery of the holidays of modern England are in the line of succession from the miracle plays with which our

ancestors were entertained before the Reformation, but our masters will have it so. Nor is it easy to connect our New England games on "training," "election" and "fast" days with miracle plays, but the evidence supports the conclusion.*

Whether wicket was ever played in New Haven by "town-born" and "interloper" I am unable to say; but it was unquestionably played by the college boys from early times, though I have been unable to find any record evidence of the game antedating 1818. In a poem entitled "New Haven" written by William Croswell, a son of Dr. Harry Croswell of Trinity Church, New Haven, and himself a Rector of the Church of the Advent in Boston, cricket is mentioned. This poem refers to the years of

*Even the cloth forgot its dignity and engaged in sports. The Rev. Henry Smith, the first settled minister of the old river-town of Wethersfield, wrestled, as it would appear, not alone with the Lord. In a letter written from Hadley in 1689 by his son, his son says, "I do well remember ye Face and Figure of my Honored Father. He was 5 foote, 10 inches tall & spare of build tho not leane. He was as active as ye Red Skin Men and Sinewy. His delight was in sports of Strengthe & withe his own Handes he did helpe to reare bothe our owne House & ye First Meeting House of Weathersfield, wherein he preacht yeares too fewe. He was well Featured & Fresh favoured with faire skin & longe curling Haire (as neare all of us have had) with a merrie eye & sweet smilinge mouthe, tho he could frowne sternlie eno when need was."

"Ye firste Meeting House was solid, mayde to withstande ye wicked onslaughts of ye Red Skins. Its foundations was laide in ye feare of ye Lord, but its walls was truly laide in ye feare of ye Indians for many & greate was ye Terrors of em. I do mind me yt alle ye able-bodied Men did work thereat & ye old and feeble did watch in turns to espie if any savages was in hiding neare & every man kepthe his Musket nighe to his hande." For the remainder of this captivating letter, see the History of Ancient Wethersfield, Connecticut, Vol. I., p. 154.

his undergraduateship, 1818-22, when young Croswell was a student at Yale. The fifth stanza reads:

"And on the green and easy slope where those proud columns stand,
In Dorian mood, with academe and temple on each hand,
The football and the cricket-match upon my vision rise,
With all the clouds of classic dust kicked in each other's eyes."

Football and cricket went hand in hand in those days, as appears from Belden's "Sketches of Yale College," published in 1843. He says: "Were it spring or autumn you should see a brave set-to at football on the green, or a brisk game at wicket."

As a New Haven school boy, Mr. Henry T. Blake saw the college students play wicket on the Green prior to 1844, as well as during his own college days. He tells me that he never heard the game called anything but wicket; and the game, as he describes it, follows what I call the American game. It was during Mr. Blake's college days that baseball made its appearance and, if I may say so, a decided hit. For a few years thereafter wicket was not played on New Haven Green at all as far as I can learn; but when the Rev. Dr. Storrs O. Seymour of Litchfield came to college in 1853 it was revived by him and some Litchfield County students at Yale. About that revival he writes as follows:

"In the class of '57 there were three men from Litchfield County well acquainted with the game of 'wicket.' And after the excitement of the football games between '57 and '58 had subsided, it was proposed that a wicket club be formed. This was done, the ball and bats and wicket sticks after the regular pattern were procured and the club began its practice. The place where we played was on the public green south of the old State House, which was

then standing, and parallel with College Street about where the row of trees now stands. These trees were not then growing there. I can not recall all the names of those who were accustomed to play with us. But I remember very well that Sam. Scoville, George M. Woodruff, George Pratt, Holbrook our Valedictorian, John C. Day, D. Stuart Dodge and Charles Blackman were prominent as good players. The time when we played was at noon, after the eleven o'clock recitation and before dinner. Sometimes also Saturday afternoon was given up to it. There were a good many of our class who would from time to time join in the game but irregularly. There were not more than a dozen perhaps who were enthusiastic enough to be on hand every day. I think that we never chose sides, but when a man was bowled or caught out someone else took the bat, a sort of order being observed, so that all had a chance to bat. The game excited considerable interest, tho. I think no other class formed a club. There were other men in the other classes who knew the game, who had come from towns where it was played, these would occasionally take part in it. So far as I know the game was not continued by any club after the class of '57 was graduated, and so far as I remember I have not played a game since that year. But I enjoyed playing very much, having begun when I was a small boy. The game was played here in Litchfield on our public square every pleasant evening from early summer to late autumn."

After one of those games in which young Seymour played, an old gentleman came forward from among the spectators and said to him, that he was very glad to watch him and his friends play at the game of wicket; that he had played the game in the old town of Litchfield with his father, Judge Origen S. Seymour; with his grandfather, Sheriff Ozias Seymour; and with his great-grandfather, Major Moses Seymour. "They were all good players," added the old man, "and you play as well as

the best of them." This was Mr. Asa Bacon, then eighty-six years old, a Litchfield man and a contemporary of Sheriff Seymour. It was the custom in Litchfield, as elsewhere, for elderly men to play a match game with the younger men, and so Mr. Bacon as a young man had played with Major Moses Seymour, and as an elderly man in a game against Judge Seymour. This little story calls up a pleasing picture of Major Moses Seymour, the patriot, as an old man playing a match wicket game on Litchfield Green. Dr. Seymour thinks that the game which his grandfather played against Mr. Bacon must have been played prior to 1800. Litchfield, as I have already stated, was one of the strongholds of the game, which must have been played there until the middle of the last century, and I should judge that it must have been something of a cult in the Seymour family because I am assured by our member, Hon. Morris W. Seymour, that he played the game as well as his brothers, the Rev. Dr. Storrs O. Seymour and the late Judge Edward Seymour.

The game was also a great favorite in Litchfield with the students of Judge Reeve's justly celebrated law school. I think the game was never played in New Haven after the graduation of Dr. Seymour and his Litchfield County friends in 1857.*

Professor Henry A. Beers, who played the game as a boy in Hartford during the years 1859-63, says that it was not

* For a further account of the game as played in Litchfield, see Mr. Clarence Deming's article entitled "An Old Yankee Ball Game-Wicket," in the *New York Evening Post* of May, 1903. Mr. Deming should also be enrolled as an enthusiastic wicket player on the Litchfield team, as well as the late Senator Orville H. Platt, who studied law in Litchfield.

played during his time in college from 1865 to 1869. By that time baseball had entirely crowded it out. The game described by Professor Beers as having been played by him during his school-boy days in Hartford, corresponds in all particulars to what I call the American game. He also writes, "A few years ago in the little town of Southfield in Berkshire County, Massachusetts, the natives organized a wicket game on July 4th, between the married men and bachelors." I have already alluded to finding the game in the Berkshire region, whence I think it was derived from Litchfield.

How far the Connecticut game of wicket has travelled I cannot say, but it is certain that when the Western Reserve region of Ohio was settled from Connecticut about 1830, the game was taken along. Our member, Professor Thomas Day Seymour of Yale, tells me that wicket was a favorite game of the students at Western Reserve College then located at Hudson, Ohio. He played the game at that time, as did also his brother, Mr. Charles Seymour of Knoxville. That was a community of pure Connecticut stock, and a greater part of the students came from the Western Reserve region and were of the same stock, and they came to college well acquainted with the game. "Up to 1861," he says, "the standard games at our college were wicket and baseball, with wicket well in the lead. This game was in no sense a revival. A proof of this is the fact that young men coming to college all over the Reserve were accustomed to this game at home." The game described by Professor Seymour is the Connecticut game. Mark Hanna was a star player there about 1860,

and the rule had to be called on him that the ball must touch the ground three times before it struck the wicket.*

It thus appears that wicket was played in Connecticut, and particularly in Hartford and Litchfield Counties, from the middle of the 18th century down to the outbreak of the Civil War. During the War, athletic games were largely suspended in favor of drilling and other manoeuvres. After the war, baseball seems to have had a clear

* Professor Seymour's letter so well visualizes the game as it was played half a century ago in the Western Reserve that I am constrained to reprint it in full:

NEW HAVEN, April 25, 1905.

My dear Kinsman:—As to "wicket" in Northern Ohio: My father was for fifty years professor in the Western Reserve College, and my youth was spent in a community of unusually pure New England stock. In 1861, the war set all men to "drilling," and the "cadets" found in skirmishing and the like (Zouave drill) the vent for their longing for exercise and sport. But up to 1861 the standard games at our college were wicket and football, with wicket well in the lead. This was in no sense a revival. A proof of this is the fact that young men coming to college from all over the Reserve were accustomed to this game at home. My impression is that my father recognized the game as familiar to him from his boyhood,—but of this I am not absolutely certain. The ball was about $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter; the wickets were about 4 inches above the ground, and about 5 feet long. The bats were very heavy,—of oak, about 50 inches long, with an almost circular lower end of (say) 8 inches in diameter. The ball was so heavy that most bowlers merely rolled it with such a twist as they could impart; but some bowlers almost threw it. Mark Hanna was the star player about 1860, and the rule had to be called on him that the ball must touch the ground three times before it struck the wicket. The bats were so heavy that only the strong (and quick) batter dared to wait until the ball was opposite him and then strike. I was always satisfied to steer the ball off to one side. The rules favored the batter and many runs were made. (My brother has stimulated, helped, and confirmed my recollections in this matter.) I am,

Yours, &c.,

T. D. SEYMOUR.

field. In an address made on May 24, 1906, A. G. Spalding, the "famous pitcher" and authority on the "national game," said:

"Baseball is of American origin, was born in New York City, and the first baseball ground was located about where Madison Square now stands. Back in 1842 a few of the young business men of New York began to assemble every Saturday afternoon on these grounds to play what they called baseball. In 1845 these same young men organized the original Knickerbocker Baseball Club of New York, the first baseball club ever organized. This club printed the first playing rules in 1845, and it may interest you to know that the present game of baseball could to-day be played under these same rules with a few minor changes, showing that the main underlying principles of the game have not changed from that day to this. Five years later, in 1850, the Gotham and Empire Clubs of New York were organized, and then began rival match games between clubs. In 1857 a convention of baseball players was held in New York, which resulted in the formation of the first National Association of Amateur Baseball Players in 1858, with a total membership of about twenty-five clubs, all from New York city or the immediate vicinity. This national organization gave a great impetus to the game and clubs began forming in other cities.

The game had become well launched when the Civil War began in 1861. The New York baseball players of that period were among the first to respond to President Lincoln's call for troops, and they took their baseball accoutrements with them, and thus was the game introduced into the army, where it soon became a favorite camp pastime. Every regiment had its baseball team, and the monotony of camp life was very much relieved by match games of baseball. In some unaccountable manner the new game found its way over into the Confederate lines, and while those two magnificent armies could not agree upon national policies, they could agree upon baseball. At the close of the Civil War, in 1865, the soldiers of both armies in returning to their homes disseminated

baseball throughout the nation, so you can see that baseball has its patriotic side, and became the national game of America through the efforts of those battle-scarred veterans of the Civil War."

The "national game" itself was until the sixties merely the local pastime of New York City and a few neighboring places. When the Civil War began, the New York regiments introduced the game into the army, and as Mr. Spalding tells the story, the return of the soldiers to their homes after the conclusion of peace spread the game with the greatest possible rapidity to the uttermost parts of the country. Wicket was thus displaced by baseball—a game far better suited to the American spirit, but less democratic than wicket, though the contrary opinion is often expressed. This I cannot but feel is a loss, as it should always be the aim to keep recreation democratic.

For my last chapter in the history of the game, I must turn again to Bristol. The history of wicketing in Bristol is entrenched behind an unbroken series of victories over neighboring teams, the more remarkable, perhaps, because the Bristol team has always been made up of local players, while the opposing teams have often been composed of picked players from different towns. A memorable game was that played on Federal Hill in Bristol September 9, 1858, between Bristol and Waterbury. A special train brought the Waterbury players to Bristol. The game lasted nearly all day and was played to the accompaniment of a band of music. Waterbury was defeated. After the contest was over the home and the visiting teams marched, the band leading the way, to the center of the town, where they were loudly cheered. A banquet at the Kilbourne

House followed. But the most memorable day in the annals of the game was a match played between Bristol and New Britain on Monday, July 18, 1859, the Bristol team having advertised that they were willing to meet a team from any town or city in the State, or any combination, for the championship of the State. After some delay New Britain accepted the challenge and the affair was arranged with as much elaboration of detail as any sort of public celebration would be to-day. Monday morning dawned clear and hot, and the whole country-side was early astir. In Hartford the interest was so great that a special train was made up and left for Bristol early in the morning. More cars were added and filled at New Britain. Every car was trimmed with flags and bunting; the visitors brought a band with them, and a great crowd welcomed them at the Bristol station. When the game began it was estimated that fully 4,000 people—a number exceeding the entire population of the township—had gathered to witness the contest. Every window in the Congregational Church was filled with people who stood there all day, as well as every available window in the neighboring houses that commanded a view of the old green. The remainder of the company stood in the hot sun. For hours the battle waged, and although New Britain played a losing game, their heroic efforts to recover themselves maintained the excitement until all was over. In speaking of the game, the "Hartford Press" said, "the most remarkable order prevailed during the game, and the contestants treated each other with faultless courtesy, the good-natured cheers at each other's mishaps being given and received in the

best of spirits. The judges required the umpire but few times during the game and the decisions were yielded to promptly." New Britain was defeated by a score of 190 to 152.

Though their team had been beaten, the New Britain contingent were not broken in spirit. Stripping the flags and bunting from their gaily decorated cars, they now draped them heavily in black; the shades of evening heightened the majesty of grief. And so, as the day closed, this funeral train wound slowly through the cut, crossed the great "Cow Plain," and drew on to New Britain and Hartford. The team remained behind for the customary banquet. In this great match of 1859 for the championship of the State the game seems to have culminated. In that game thirty men played on each side. In the lists I notice the names of the late Frederick W. Stanley and Valentine Chamberlain of New Britain, and Henry A. and the late Josiah Tracy Peck of Bristol, both brothers of Professor Tracy Peck of Yale.*

Fortunately the rules decided upon for the New Britain game, as drafted by the late Deacon "Harry" Bartholomew of Bristol, have recently been brought to

* One of the spectators of that great contest on Federal Hill lived to play a game of wicket in the same town nearly fifty years later, as the following item from the New Haven *Journal-Courier* of September 5th, 1905, shows:

"Wilfred H. Nettleton of Bristol, aged eighty years, who has been an admirer of wicket for half a century and saw the game on Federal Hill, Bristol, fifty years ago, when Bristol defeated New Britain, played in the game on Friday afternoon on the Center street grounds, in that town. He has played more or less all his life and on Friday made eight runs in the game between the married and unmarried men. His health is preserved in a remarkable degree and there is rarely a baseball game hereabouts that he does not see."

light and are here reprinted. They are valuable as showing the game at the very height of its development and just before it was displaced by baseball.

RULES OF THE GAME OF WICKET.

1st. The ball shall be from $3\frac{3}{4}$ to 4 inches in diameter and weigh from 9 to 10 ounces.

2d. The wickets shall be 75 feet apart.

3d. The wickets shall be six feet long.

4th. The tick marks shall be six feet from the wickets.

5th. The ball shall strike the ground on or before it reaches the center, to be a bowl.

6th. The bowler must start from behind the wicket and pass over it in bowling.

7th. The bowler shall be within ten feet of the wicket when the ball leaves his hand.

8th. A throw or jerk is in no case a bowl, but the arm in bowling must be kept perfectly straight.

9th. In ticking, the bowler must stand astride or back of the wicket, striking it off from the inside, retaining the ball in his hand.

10th. When the bowler has received the ball, it shall be bowled by him before it is passed to the other bowler.

11th. The striker shall in no case molest the ball when it is being thrown in, so as to hinder the bowler from ticking him out.

12th. There shall be no crossing the alley when the ball is being bowled.

13th. There shall be no unnecessary shinning.*

*That the game as played in Litchfield County was substantially the same as played in Hartford County is shown by the following extract from a letter dated at Litchfield, October 11, 1909, from the Rev. Dr. Storrs O. Seymour, a wicketeer himself and the inheritor of the traditions of the Litchfield County game.

"I thank you most heartily for sending me your article on 'Wicket.' I do not see how it can be improved. Nor have I any suggestion to make unless it might be well to explain what was meant by 'shinning' in rule 13th. My

14th. In catching, flying balls only are out. A ball caught before striking any other object but the catcher is out.

15th. In crossing, the striker shall tick his bat down on or over the tick mark to have a cross count except when caught or ticked out.

16th. No striker shall strike a ball more than once except in defense of his wicket, neither shall he stop the ball with his bat and then kick it.

17th. No one shall get in the way of a striker to prevent his crossing freely.

18th. Lost ball may have four crosses run on it.

19th. No one but the judge may cry "no bowl."

The number of players on each side is not fixed by these rules. On this point there seems to have been consider-

impression is that three 'shinnings' put a man out, although probably these three must have been consecutive, and I believe that when a batter had stopped a ball in that way the ball was thrown back to the same bowler. You also speak of the fact that the ball being bowled to one batter, the other might move forward to make his run. Was not this called 'leading up' and considered as a mark of a courageous and alert batter? I think too that a batter who had thus 'led up' might stop the ball anywhere in the alley if the bowler opposite to him tried to bowl him out before he could get within the 'tick line.'

"There used to be many match games played between the 'Bantam Club' of Litchfield and the Wolcottville Club. The last match game in which I played was one between these two clubs when I was in college, my division officer, who, if I remember rightly, was Dr. Dwight, the late President, having excused me from attending on prayers and recitations that I might come to Litchfield for the purpose of playing. My brother Edward was one of the players and, alas! our club was beaten."

Dr. Seymour's letter was submitted to Mr. Miles Lewis Peck of Bristol, who replied in part, as follows:

"With regard to 'shinning' it meant the stopping of a ball with your shins without having made any effort to hit it with the bat. Sometimes players who had very tough shins would try to tire out a bowler on the opposite team by shinning ball after ball and a rule was made to prevent this. When, however, the batter struck at and tried to hit the ball, but failed, and the ball hit his shins, it was not called 'shinning.'"

able elasticity. While the game was frequently played with only about fifteen men on a side, the existing records show that in all match games of any importance there were about thirty players on each side; but, as stated, there seems to have been no hard and fast rule fixing the number of players. Thirty players on a side may have been considered the "perfect number," but important match games were played with 28 men on a side, and with even more than 30. One would think that with sixty men more or less engaged in one game, there would be great confusion; but it is to be remembered that only about half the whole number were playing at one time. While one team was fielding, the other team was batting. The fielding team was, of course, in play, but the batting team was waiting its turn, two by two, at the bat. The fielding team moved from one end of the alley to the other according to the end of the alley used for batting. Either end of the alley was used, but only one end at a time. Although only a little over half of the aggregate number of men engaged were in play at any one time, the number actually taking part in the game was large compared with our modern game of baseball. The very number of players engaged in these bygone contests gives a quaint and old-time air to any rehearsal of them, and shows how simple, compared with our own, the times were when sixty men of the better class, and even of the first class, were able to devote an entire day to a game. Indeed the number of players gives some color to the theory that the game is after all but dismantled polo derived from true polo in which a great number of horsemen took part.

From 1859 the game seems to have languished up to 1873, when Bristol played Wolcottville and Ansonia, and, in 1874, Forestville. Several games were played in 1876—the Centennial year.

In 1880 the Bristol wicket team went to Brooklyn, New York, and on August 27th decisively defeated the Brooklyn Club. The game drew a great crowd and the reporters of the New York dailies took advantage of the opportunity to write up the strange Yankee game of wicket. The *Brooklyn Eagle* said, "There were many grey-beards on both sides, but what was the most striking in the contest, to the spectators present, accustomed to witness games and matches of all kinds in the Metropolis, was the entire absence of the spirit of partizan malice, of continuous disputing and quarreling which is frequent at local contests on the ball field." If the game of baseball was free from rowdyism at first, it soon degenerated into it, so that to-day and for many years past, at least, rowdyism has been characteristic of baseball games. A rough class of men have played the games and a rough and rowdy class have been attracted to them. I do not mean to say that baseball is a rowdy game as played by young men, nor that many of the best men in any community are not enthusiastic supporters of baseball. What I mean to say is, that baseball has almost from its beginnings been characterized by a great deal of rowdyism.

Beginning with 1880, local games occupied the Bristol wicketers until 1892, when they played two games with Newington. In 1893 they played Newington and Torrington. Newington was again beaten in 1895. The next

great game was that of 1903—the “Old Home Week” game already spoken of. The last game was that played as a feature of the annual fair at Berlin last year, attracting a great crowd. For over sixty years the Bristol team has been victorious in every game. Is it strange, then, that up there on the hills they cherish the traditions of the ancient Yankee game of wicket, of which they consider themselves the appointed custodians?

I should not bring this paper to a close without attempting a description of the game as played. To begin with, an alley 75 feet long is prepared. No rule prescribes any width for the alley but it varies from 8 to 10 feet. Two pairs of wooden blocks are placed at the respective ends of the alley in parallel lines at a right angle to its length; on these blocks light sticks six feet long, called wickets, are mounted. The blocks, which are usually pyramidal in form, are of a height to lift the wickets about 4 inches above the floor of the alley. The center of the alley is crossed by an imaginary transverse line used to determine the fairness of the ball, it being one of the requirements that the ball must be bowled so as to strike the floor of the alley before reaching the center of the alley. The judge generally takes a position in line with this transverse line, which is marked by bits of red flannel held in place by pins driven into the edge of the alley on each side so as to be flush with its floor. The bowlers stand back of the wickets and for them the ground is cleared and smoothed so as to merge into the alley, though the alley proper is confined between the wickets; no rules limit the size of the place occupied by the bowler. Imaginary “tick-lines” are drawn at a

right angle to the axis of the alley, six feet inside of the wickets. Similarly, imaginary transverse "bowling lines" five feet inside of the "tick-lines," and therefore ten feet inside of the wickets, are drawn to prevent the bowlers from advancing toward the center of the alley more than ten feet from the wickets, before delivering the ball. These "tick-lines" and "bowling lines" are usually indicated by bits of red flannel attached to pins driven into the side of the alley as described above. The batsmen are placed facing each other between the "tick lines" and the wickets, each batsman being furnished with a one-piece wooden bat not unlike a tennis bat in form, though having a longer handle, and being solid at the outer end instead of strung with gut. Two bowlers chosen from the fielding team stand back of the wickets. The batsmen from the team at the bat stand just inside of the wickets. That is their position for batting, but when the ball is being bowled to one of them, the other, of course, has to get out of the way of the bowler and always moves forward on the right side of the alley to be out of the way and to be nearer the opposite wicket if the ball is batted and he has to run. The wicketers forming the team from which the bowlers are chosen are arranged around the end of the alley from which the ball is being batted. In case the batting is shifted to the other end of the alley, the fielders swiftly group themselves around the bowler there. To deliver a ball the bowler retreats back of the wicket for some distance. Then running forward he leaps over the wicket and delivers the ball with a straight arm as close to the ground as possible, and always

within the "bowling line" before described. He may deliver a straight ball, or a curved ball—a swift ball or a slow ball; but under all circumstances, the ball, in order to be a fair ball, must touch the alley before reaching the line crossing the middle of the alley and determining the fairness of the ball. If the ball is not intercepted by the batsman, it will, of course, knock off the wicket, which it is the aim of the batsman to guard. The batsman may strike an unlimited number of balls, and may or may not run as he may judge best; but in some way or other he must intercept the balls and prevent them from knocking off the wicket. When he strikes the ball into the field he ordinarily runs to the opposite end of the alley and strikes the ground back of the "tick line" with his bat. In this way a run is scored, but of course the batsman does not score if the ball is caught by one of the fielders, or if the ball is thrown to the bowler and the wicket knocked off with the ball in the hands of the bowler before the runner "ticks" down. If he makes a strong hit he may after "ticking" once run back to the opposite end of the alley and then back and "tick" again, and so on, but in any event he cannot make more than four runs on any one ball. But up to the number of four, he may run back and forth until the ball has been recovered, and thrown to the bowler. With so many men in the field to intercept the ball, it is surprising that any runs to speak of are made; but, on the contrary, wicket scores are high as compared with baseball scores.

With so many taking part, the game is necessarily prolonged, even lasting all day, and rarely played within a space

of five hours; but I have never heard of the game of wicket being continued over to the next day, which I believe is not unusual with the game of cricket as played in Old England. The difference between the game of wicket which was played with scarcely diminished enthusiasm as late as 1860, and our national game of baseball, is fairly characteristic of the great changes in American life. The old game was leisurely, gentlemanly, and democratic in so far as it brought together on terms of friendly equality the high and the low of our old social order, just as in England the farmer's son, the squire's son, and the nobleman's son engaged in village games, without any consciousness of distinctions of rank. In the game of wicket the game itself was enough for the players though it generally drew a good many local people. On the other hand, we have in baseball a game played with terrific intensity and power for an hour and a half or two hours, by eighteen men too frequently of a rough class, and almost invariably before an immense throng of highly wrought spectators. In baseball, at least as now played, the players are generally recruited from the same class. It would be invidious to say that the "best people," so called, do not to-day attend baseball games. But they are in the minority in the great crowd of men who occupy the "bleachers"—they are, as I think, men who as boys played the game when it was in its infancy, and when it too brought together in friendly rivalry the better and the best men in the community. The game of wicket compared with baseball as now played seems rural enough, and shows more plainly than the old

players could have ever realized, how close they were, after all, in their sports to the mother country, which many of them affected so much to despise. The English cricketers and the American wicketers were in truth of one brotherhood.

HISTORIES AND NECROLOGIES

PROF. WILLISTON WALKER, D.D.

Historian of the Society

REPORT OF THE HISTORIAN FOR THE YEAR 1903-4

T is one of the duties of this Society at its annual meeting, and its only mournful one on this occasion of reunion, to give a glance back over the year that has just closed and to call to recollection those whom death has taken from us since last we met in the General Court. No annual meeting of this Society, since that of 1895, has been without the necessity of such sad commemoration. Sometimes the list of our loss has been long, three times it has contained but a single name, but it has always been a record of those whose going was a serious loss to our companionship, and whose absence from us has meant the sundering of valued associations.

The first break in our ranks, during the past year, was caused by the death of Mr. Charles Edwin Brown of Bridgeport, which occurred on September 16, 1903. Mr. Brown was born on September 4, 1849, in Providence, R. I., the son of Mr. Allen Brown, a merchant of that city. After training in the public schools of Providence and in a preparatory school of that city, he went to New York and entered the service of Mr. John Davol of the Brooklyn Brass & Copper Company. With Mr. Davol and that company, of which Mr. Davol was a leader, Mr. Brown remained some twenty-four years, winning and retaining the confidence and goodwill of his employers, until the sales department of the company was committed to his charge.

This work in Brooklyn he laid down about fifteen years ago to take charge of the selling department of the Bridge-

port Copper Company, a business in which he successfully engaged until the time that company was purchased by the Amalgamated Copper Company. Mr. Brown's health had begun to fail, and from the time that his business relations with the Bridgeport Company were sundered until his death he was not actively engaged in commercial pursuits. His death was caused by a shock of apoplexy and took place at Litchfield, Conn., where he was spending the summer with his children. He married, April 3, 1870, Miss Ella Taylor Brooker, of Torrington, Conn., who died July 6, 1899. Eight children survive him.

Mr. Brown traced his ancestry to John Brown of Swansea, Mass., an assistant to the Plymouth Colony, a member of its Council of War, and a commissioner representing Plymouth in the meetings of the United Colonies. Our late associate was never an occupant of office or otherwise conspicuously before the public eye. He was known to comparatively few of the Society, but he sympathized heartily in its aim of perpetuating and honoring the names of the founders of New England, and he is remembered with affection by a large circle of friends, as a man of lovable character and fineness of feeling.

The death of Professor Francis Wayland, long identified with the Law Department of Yale University, and its Dean, occurred on January 9, 1904, and took from us one of the most distinguished members of our Society. Francis Wayland was born in Boston, on August 23, 1826, the son of Rev. Francis Wayland, who entered, a year later, upon a distinguished presidency of Brown University. Brought up, thus, in a collegiate atmosphere,

Mr. Wayland's intellectual powers were early developed. He graduated from Brown University in the class of 1846, then studied law at the Harvard Law School and in the offices of W. H. Potter, Esquire, in Providence, and of Ashmun & Chapman in Springfield, Mass., where he was admitted to the bar and began practice. In 1850, he entered on the practice of law in Worcester, Mass., and remained there till 1858, engaged in his profession, when he removed to New Haven, with the interests of which city he was ever afterwards identified. Six years after his settlement in New Haven, he was chosen judge of probate, an office which he held for two years; and, in 1869, he was elected Lieutenant-Governor of Connecticut on the Republican ticket. Prominent by reason of these and many other services in the New Haven community, it was natural that the Law Department of Yale should look to him as one who could be of service in the reorganization of its work. Significant as his services had thus far been, it was on his election as an instructor in the Yale Law School, in 1871, and his appointment as its Dean, in 1873, that the great work of his life began. The school, at that time, was in a disheartening situation; its students were few, its instruction irregular and ill paid; it had no buildings and was without funds; its standard of scholarship was low, and its condition was one which seemed to threaten speedy collapse. To the work of its invigoration Dean Wayland brought energy, courage, tact and persistence, and he was ably seconded in this task by younger members of the New Haven Bar, conspicuous among whom were Judge Robinson and Judge Baldwin. By their

combined efforts, under Dean Wayland's leadership, the condition of the school was speedily and radically changed; its standards of scholarship were brought fully abreast of modern requirements, its faculty was enlarged till it included, at the time of Mr. Wayland's death, fifteen instructors and eighteen lecturers, and its student body numbered three hundred and forty-eight. Through his zeal invested funds were obtained to the amount of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars besides the stately building which bears the name of Mr. Wayland's friend, John W. Hendrie, which was secured by Mr. Wayland's persistent efforts. The Yale Law School is his most conspicuous monument and one which must keep his name in abiding honor.

Besides his interest in the affairs of this department of Yale University, Dean Wayland was a man of broad and varied concerns. For fourteen years he was one of the directors of the Connecticut State's Prison and was long president of that board. His interest in the aid of discharged prisoners began even earlier, and, in 1872, he became president of the Connecticut Prison Aid Association. This concern for the welfare of the criminal classes was but one manifestation of Dean Wayland's broad and philanthropic sympathy with the defective and delinquent elements of our civic life, and his earnest desire to do what he could for their moral and social betterment. This feeling led him to devote much attention to the organization of the charities of the city of his residence, and, from 1878 till the time of his death, he was not merely president of the Organized Charities of New Haven, but under his

leadership the system of pauper and vagrant relief in that city became one of the best in the country, and is deservedly regarded as a model of administration. Dean Wayland's study of sociological questions took in a wider view than that of his own city or own state, and naturally led him into coöperation with the American Social Science Association, of which he was elected president in 1880, an office which he held for three years. Of course his own university desired his services upon its governing board, and he was a trustee of Brown University for many years. In 1874 he was appointed president of the Board of Visitors of the United States Military Academy at West Point, and he served as vice president of a similar board in the inspection of the Naval Academy at Annapolis.

In the affairs of the Baptist denomination, of which he was a loyal member, he was conspicuous, being president of the great Baptist Missionary Society, the American Baptist Union, and engaged on many committees having the welfare of various aspects of that religious body in their charge. One of the last works in which he participated, even when partially disabled by illness, was his service as chairman of the Building Committee, by which the new edifice of the "First Baptist Church" of New Haven, which is now just nearing completion, was erected.

Dean Wayland was, in personal appearance, a man of stately and commanding presence. He enjoyed the society of his fellowmen, he was gifted with abundant humor, he knew how to meet his associates of whatever position in life with abundant and hearty cordiality and good fellowship, yet with no abatement of the impression of dignity,

which was one of the fundamental traits of his character. He made an ideal presiding officer, he won and retained the friendship of his associates and the admiration, no less than the affection, of his students. Till the summer of 1901, when he was partially disabled by an embolism, which deprived him of the use of one of his legs, he was a man marked by physical alertness and of noticeably vigorous appearance. From the time of that attack till his death he was an invalid compelled to live a physically crippled life, but at no period did his mental activity shine out more conspicuously than in these trying days of confinement, which he bore with cheerfulness and courage; and the interests of the Law School and the concerns of the philanthropic, religious and charitable associations, in which he had borne so large a share, were ever present with him to the very close of his useful career.

He is survived by his wife, who was a daughter of the late Ezra C. Read, Esquire, of New Haven.

The death of Mr. William Elijah Downes of New Haven, on February 1, 1904, took from us the third member of this Society whose demise during the year we have to record. Mr. Downes traced his ancestry back to Gov. Robert Treat, famous for his services to the colonists in battles with the Indians at the Great Swamp Fight and at Bloody Brook. He was born in Milford, on August 22, 1824, the son of Horatio and Nancy Smith Downes. After preparation for college in the schools of Milford he graduated from Yale University in the class of 1845, and after a further course of study in the Yale Law School, he began the practice of the legal profession in Derby.

The rising manufactures of that enterprising community, however, soon attracted his attention, and he became greatly interested in the Howe Pin Company of that place, of which he was successively secretary and treasurer, and then president. The business interests of Derby owed much to his leadership. He was one of the founders of the Derby Gas Company, of which he was long a director, president of the Derby Savings Bank, and a leading and influential citizen in all that made for the welfare of the Derby community. The respect in which he was held by his fellow citizens is shown by his election, three times, as Representative to the Connecticut Legislature. In 1887, Mr. Downes became a resident of New Haven and built the house on Whitney Avenue, in which he has since lived during a considerable part of the year. Reasons of health had induced him, for a number of years before his death, to spend his winters in the south, and it was on a winter sojourn at Deland in Florida that death overtook him. Mr. Downes married Miss Jane Maria Howe, on June 24, 1850, and is survived by his wife and four children. Mr. Downes was a man of genial, kindly spirit, a good friend, and one heartily and benevolently interested in causes that made for the welfare of his fellowmen. His health and age have prevented him from meeting often with us; but he was a man whom we were glad to have numbered of our fellowship.

The fourth of our members whose death we have to record was that eminent Connecticut lawyer, Judge Lyman Denison Brewster of Danbury, whose careful and discriminating paper upon Elder William Brewster, read

before the Society at the general court of 1901, many of us must recall.

Judge Brewster was born in the town of Salisbury in this State, on July 31, 1832, the son of Daniel and Harriet (Averill) Brewster. Though the family of which he was to be so distinguished a member had long been resident in Connecticut, he stood eighth in descent from Elder William Brewster, the spiritual leader of the Mayflower company. After a period of preparation for college at the Williams Academy in Stockbridge, he entered Yale University, graduating from Yale in the class of 1855. The completion of his college course was followed by the study of law in the office of Honorable Roger Averill of Danbury, and on January 21, 1858, he was admitted to the bar. From the first he was regarded as a man of promise in the legal profession, and his talents speedily led to association in partnership with his instructor, Lieutenant-Governor Averill, a partnership that continued as long as Mr. Averill lived. On Mr. Averill's demise Mr. Brewster became senior partner in a law firm with Elias Frye, Esq., under the title of Brewster & Frye. In 1871 he entered into partnership with Samuel Tweedy, Esq., and in 1878 with Howard B. Scott, Esq., the firm being known as Brewster, Tweedy & Scott. This partnership lasted until 1892, and in the following year Judge Brewster formed a similar connection with Samuel A. Davis, Esq., to which J. Moss Ives, Esq., was added in 1899, the partnership being known at the time of Judge Brewster's death as Brewster, Davis & Ives. His fellow townsmen speedily recognized the sterling qualities of the rising young

lawyer, and honored him with political preferment. He represented Danbury in the Lower House of the Legislature in 1870, 1878 and 1879. He held office as judge of probate and served as school visitor. In 1879 he was chosen to the State Senate from the district in which Danbury is situated, and in the Legislature, both while a member of the House and again in the Senate, he gained distinction as one of the most useful, clear-sighted and hard-working servants of the State, especially in all that had to do with the simplification and systematizing of law. In 1878 and 1879 he was a member of the Judiciary Committee, and in 1880 chairman of that committee. Governor Hubbard designated him, in 1878, as one of the committee to revise the Civil Procedure Code, and it was owing to his labors that the "Practice Act" and the "Book of Forms" were adopted—steps which strongly tended to render uniform the legal procedure of this commonwealth. Conspicuous in his profession, he was appointed, in 1870, a judge of the Court of Common Pleas of Fairfield County and continued to occupy a position on the bench for four years. Though thus identified with the judicial office in a way that always attached to him the title of judge, it was as a practising lawyer and a reformer of legal method that he gained chief distinction. As a lawyer he rose to national reputation in connection with the Tilden will case, in which he represented the interests of the heirs-at-law in their successful attack upon the validity of Mr. Tilden's will—a result which was justly believed to be due, largely, to his legal acumen and professional skill. But Judge Brewster's interests were wrapped

up even more in the simplification of legal procedure in general than in the success of his own practice. Entering into the American Bar Association at its foundation, he was at once recognized as one of the most useful and hard-working members of that society. In 1890 he was appointed chairman of its Committee on Uniform State Laws; in 1896 he was chosen president of a National Conference on Uniform Laws, made up of commissioners from the several States of our Union; and he held that office thenceforth until ill health compelled him to lay it down. In particular, he believed that the conduct of mercantile business would be greatly facilitated by the enactment of uniform commercial laws, and to this matter he gave constant and persistent attention. The "Negotiable Instruments Act," by which the statutes regarding Bills of Exchange and Notes were made uniform, was directly his work, and has been adopted by some twenty of the States of the American Union. To this matter he gave freely of his time and strength, and his last conspicuous public service was in January, 1903, when he made an effective argument in behalf of a uniform commercial code before the New York State Bar Association in Albany—a paper which gains a sad significance, since it was at the occasion of its presentation that Judge Brewster suffered the paralytic shock which rendered him an invalid for the rest of his days, and was the first onset of the disease which was to cost him his life on February 14, 1904.

Personally Judge Brewster was a noble representative of the honored New England founder from whom he

traced his lineage. One may justly see in him the hereditary perpetuation of many of the qualities which distinguished Elder William Brewster, whose descendant he was; like him, deeply religious by nature, public spirited, of decided gifts of leadership and of devotion to the larger interests of the community in which he was a citizen, he represented the simplicity and the strength of the old New England character. In appearance and in manner alike he was a man of the old New England type and he did for his own community and generation a work of the highest usefulness and character, being thus a worthy representative of his honored ancestry.

Judge Brewster's interests went out in other directions than those with which his memory is chiefly associated; a keen appreciation of literature was one of his distinguishing qualities. He was the poet of his class at his graduation in 1855, and an appreciation of poetic expression marked him always. He desired to foster also the preservation of the memories of New England, and beside his membership in the Society of Colonial Wars, he occupied the post of Governor of the Connecticut Society of the Mayflower Descendants until ill health compelled its relinquishment.

He married Miss Amelia Ives of Danbury in 1868. A friendly and companionable man, he enjoyed the association with his fellowmen, not simply in those societies of which mention has been made, but in his class reunions, at which he was one of the most regular of attendants, and where, as well as in the meetings of our own Society, he will be greatly missed.

The last of our Society to be taken from us was Mr. Edwin Dwight Trowbridge of Noroton, whose death took place on February 25, 1904. Mr. Trowbridge was born at New Haven on June 29, 1849, the son of Amos H. and Julia (Atwater) Trowbridge, and he traced the descent by which he held membership in our Society to Lieutenant Thomas Trowbridge of the New Haven Troop, who served in King Philip's War. Entering business upon arriving at young manhood, he became connected with the banking house of Vermilye & Company of New York, in which he was a partner and with which he was associated during his entire business career. About two years ago he retired from active business. Besides his interest in matters of New England history, which made him a member of the Society of Colonial Wars and of the Mayflower Descendants, he was much attracted by yachting, a form of recreation which led to membership in the New York Yacht Club, and Seawanaka Yacht Club, and was illustrated in his ownership of the steam yacht "Altair"; the Wee Burn Golf Club numbered him of its membership, and he was also a member of the Union League and Down Town Clubs. Mr. Trowbridge was married to Miss Harriet Carrington of New Haven who outlived her husband but a few weeks, dying on April 19, last. He is survived by two daughters. A member of the Society who knew Mr. Trowbridge long and well, said of him, "I can speak very highly of his character, which was that of a quiet, reserved gentleman, whose acquaintance was pleasing to anyone that might be so favored. He was liberal and generous, and always ready to respond

to any appeal for assistance, either in connection with town affairs or private charity, and his loss will be felt very keenly at Noroton, where he resided during the summer."

Only once before in its history has our Society had so many deaths to record as it has this year, and it is with a sense of unusual sorrow and loss that we recall their names as we meet together this afternoon.

REPORT OF THE HISTORIAN FOR THE YEAR 1904-5

The most conspicuous feature of the story of the Connecticut Society of Colonial Wars since our last annual meeting has been the activity of its membership in politics and the part taken by them in the administration of our National and State concerns. The record is a remarkable one. In our own state, one of our members, Honorable Henry Roberts of Hartford, was chosen Governor. Eli Whitney, Esq., of New Haven, is serving in the State Senate. Our Society contributed to their unsuccessful opponents the candidates on the Democratic ticket for Governor and Lieutenant-Governor, Honorable A. Heaton Robertson of New Haven and General Henry A. Bishop of Bridgeport. The duties of Presidential Elector, under our modern system of party nomination by General Convention, have become less significant than they were at the time of the adoption of the American Constitution, but the honor of selection for this post is still very considerable; and here, as in the candidacy for the offices in the service of the State of Connecticut which have just been mentioned, the sympathies of our Society have been divided—in this matter—equally between the two main

parties. Our associates, Isaac W. Birdseye, Esq., of Bridgeport and Francis T. Maxwell, Esq., of Rockville, cast two of the seven ballots given by Connecticut for President Roosevelt; while our fellow members, Melbert B. Cary, Esq., of Ridgefield and Charles E. Gross, Esq., of Hartford would have voted for Judge Alton B. Parker, had the result of the State election been otherwise than it was. It is evident that unlike thinking on political questions of the day is no source of division in the fellowship of our Society.

In affairs of National concern, one of our members, the Honorable Charles F. Brooker of Ansonia, took a vigorous part in the furtherance of the successful presidential campaign, as a member of the Republican National Committee. Our young associate, Herbert Knox Smith, Esq., of Hartford, is filling a place of responsibility and honor in the Department of Commerce and Labor at Washington, and our colleague, Honorable Morgan G. Bulkeley, has added to the political honors which have come to him in time past, the United States Senatorship, having been chosen by the present Legislature as successor to the late General Hawley.

Certainly the record of activity and distinction in the field of public life, exhibited by the members of this Society, is one deserving of commemoration, and the Society is to be congratulated that so many of its members have been called upon or have been deemed worthy to serve public interests in so varied capacities.

It is our painful duty now, as in the past, to commemorate at this annual meeting the loss from our Society by death of

valued associates. There have been five such inroads upon our number since our last annual meeting. The first to be called from us was the Honorable Robert Coit, one of the foremost citizens of New London, whose death occurred upon June 19, 1904. Mr. Coit was of eminent New England ancestry. He traced his descent not merely from Lieutenant Lion Gardiner, by right of whom he held membership with us, but to William Brewster of the Plymouth Colony and to John Coit, one of the settlers of New London in 1650. His grandfather, Joshua Coit, was a graduate of Harvard in the class of 1776, and a lawyer in New London who was honored by his fellow citizens by election to the General Assembly, of which he became Speaker; and also to the Congress of the United States. Joshua Coit's son, the father of our fellow member, Robert Coit, bore the name of Robert Coit, and was eminent as a merchant and banker of the New London community. His son Robert, the second of the name and the subject of this sketch, was born on the twenty-sixth of April, 1830, in New London, where the greater part of his boyhood was spent. After preparation in the schools of his native town and at Farmington, he entered Yale College in 1846, graduating with the class of 1850. On the completion of his college course, he took up the study of law in the Yale Law School, and, three years later began the practice of his profession in New London. On August first of the next year, 1854, he married Miss Lucretia Brainard, daughter of William F. Brainard, Esq., of New London.

In his profession, Mr. Coit speedily won recognition, becoming clerk of the superior court. From 1860 to 1864

he held the office of judge of probate for the New London District, and he also filled the post of registrar under the Bankruptcy Act. But it was not in the practice of law that he was to be best known to the community in which he was so useful a citizen. In 1867 he was chosen treasurer of the New London Northern Railroad, beginning a connection with that corporation which absorbed much of his time and energy and continued as long as he lived. In the service of this company he became successively its treasurer, vice president and president; and he was in the latter office at the time of his death.

Mr. Coit's broad association with the business welfare of New London is evidenced by the fact that at the time of his decease he was president of the Union Bank and vice president of the Savings Bank of that city, president of the New London Gas and Electric Company, vice president of the New London Steamboat Company, trustee of the estate of his friend and associate, the Honorable J. N. Harris, and treasurer of the Smith Memorial Home. It was natural that a man so variedly useful in the life of the city in which he lived should be sought for political service also. In 1879, Mr. Coit was elected mayor of New London and served for three terms. The same year, also, he was chosen to the Lower House of the Connecticut Legislature, and in 1880, to the State Senate, representing the Ninth District. Here he served two terms, being honored by the chairmanship of important committees. In 1897 he again represented his native city in the Legislature.

Mr. Coit was actively in sympathy with all that had to do with the perpetuation of the memories of New London and lent efficient aid to the celebration of significant events in its history. During his service as mayor, in 1881, the centennial anniversary of the burning of the town by the British occurred, and very much of the success of the commemoration of that event was due to his energy and enthusiasm. At the time of his death he was chairman of the State Commission on the John Winthrop Monument, which was dedicated at New London on May sixth of this year and is justly considered one of the significant memorials of this commonwealth.

Mr. Coit's religious affiliations were with the Congregational denomination, he having been a member for many years of the Second Congregational Church of New London. He was survived by his widow and a son, Judge William B. Coit of the New London City Court. Our late fellow member was a man of simple tastes, of much reserve of manner, and of directness and reticence of speech, yet of thorough kindliness, of keen humor, of quick and ready observation, and of much appreciation of the beauties of natural scenery and love of all that makes for the well-being of life and the development of character. His sympathies and his usefulness were wide-reaching, and he left behind him the memory of a strong, faithful and much respected man, whom we do well to honor to-day.

On August 18, 1904, our associate, Edwin Porter Smith, Jr., died in New York City. Mr. Smith was born on July 24, 1853, in the same city, the son of Edwin Porter Smith and Mary A. (Hepburn) Smith. The family has

long been associated with Milford, where Mr. Smith often resided in summer, and it was from Milford, at the invitation of our first secretary, the late Nathan Gillett Pond, that he entered our Society by right of his ancestor, Governor Robert Treat. Mr. Smith's occupation was largely the charge of the property left by his father, though he was engaged also in dealing in real estate in New York City, which was always his place of business. Mr. Smith was unable to attend our meetings often and was comparatively unknown to most of the members of the Society. He was a man of quiet tastes, fond of driving and enjoying fishing as a recreation, genial and companionable with his associates. Mr. Smith was married and is survived by his wife.

The third member of our Society whose death we have to record at this time was Mr. Nathaniel Shaw Perkins of New London, who died on February eighth of the present year (1905). Mr. Perkins held membership with us by right of descent from Governor William Leete. Your historian counts himself fortunate to be able to present a brief sketch of Mr. Perkins prepared by his friend and fellow townsman, our associate, Walter Learned, Esq., of New London.

"Mr. Perkins was born in New London in 1822. He was the second child of Dr. Nathaniel S. and Ellen (Richards) Perkins, one of a family of fourteen children, of which but one survives.

"He graduated from Yale in 1842, and entered the whaling firm of Perkins & Smith. The firm dissolved in 1857, and Mr. Perkins went to Chili, where he engaged in bus-

iness for several years. Returning to New London with a competency, he retired from business life.

"From both sides of his lineage he was a descendant of the families who were the makers of New England, and this inheritance was most manifest in a quiet courtesy, an unfailing consideration, a charm of manner which unfortunately we are beginning to think of as old-fashioned. He was true to the traditions of his family, and carried into the noise and clatter of the modern world something of the quiet dignity which the world can ill afford to lose.

"He was the chairman of the building committee of the First Church of Christ, which erected its present structure in 1851. He was president of the board of trustees of the Bulkeley School and also chairman of its building committee, and both of these buildings are testimonials of his refined taste and excellent judgment. The Shaw mansion, in which he died, has always been occupied by the family. On the second visit of General George Washington to New London, in 1775, he spent one night as a guest in the old mansion, and in 1824 the Marquis de Lafayette was entertained there by Judge Elias Shaw, grandfather of Mr. Perkins.

"Trim of figure, alert of step, still wearing the stock and the close-buttoned coat of his day and generation, there was that in his quiet dignity which compelled the busy and hurrying toiler of our latter day to lift his hat to a gentleman of the old school."

Our membership from New London has been peculiarly afflicted during the past year, three of the five members whom the Society has lost by death being from that city.

The next to be taken from us, after Mr. Perkins, was Mr. James Lawrence Chew, who traced his ancestry to Governor Roger Wolcott, Governor Jonathan Law and Captain John Prentiss. Through the kindness of Mr. Learned, to whom the notice of Mr. Perkins which has just been read is due, we owe the following account of our late associate, Mr. Chew.

“James Lawrence Chew died in New London on March 9, 1905, in his sixty-sixth year. He was a native of New London, where he resided all his life, winning the esteem of all who knew him, and respected for his integrity, ability and high character. Mr. Chew was the son of Coleby and Mary Cecilia (Law) Chew, and was born on the third of October, 1840.

“He graduated from the Bartlett High School and became a clerk in the office of the United States Engineers in New London. Retiring from that position, he became a clerk for Frink & Prentiss, where he remained until 1865, when he took a place in the National Union Bank, being elected later to the position of cashier. He had served as city treasurer, as school visitor, and was a trustee of the Bulkeley School and Smith Memorial Home in his native city.

“The responsibilities of his positions had made his life a busy one. Faithful to every duty imposed upon him, he was the trusted adviser of many who little knew the cost of time which his care occasioned. Only those who knew him best knew his unostentatious charity and his constant helpfulness. It was to him that the ne’er-do-wells, the ravelled ends and the pitiful failures in life came with

their stories, sure of a contribution. They did not deceive him, and his gentle humor saved him from annoyance. He called them his pensioners, establishing a responsibility which he kindly accepted with something of a smile at its absurdity.

"But apart from the busy life of the banker or the philanthropy which denied to the left hand what the right hand was doing, he had a life of his own, an atmosphere untroubled by figures and untrammelled by indiscriminate charity. He was an antiquarian by nature and by choice. In his home that he loved so much he indulged this gentle fancy. He knew the story of each street and lane in his native town and was an undisputed authority. The papers that he gathered will serve some future historian. A kindly and courteous gentleman, a remembrancer of the days that are no more, he has left a fragrant memory, a place that cannot be filled."

It is with a sense of personal sorrow, felt by us all I am sure, that I mention the name of the latest member of our Society to have passed from us, Colonel Jacob Lyman Greene. All of us who were present at the dinner of this Society on May 6, 1902, must remember the eloquence and force as well as the kindling warmth of personal affection with which he spoke of our recently deceased associate, General William Buel Franklin. It is an address which must live in the memory of those then present as vividly illustrative of the character of the one who uttered it as well as of the honored soldier whom he commemorated.

Jacob Lyman Greene was born on August 9, 1837, the

son of Jacob Holt Greene and of Sarah Walker (Frye) Greene, on a farm in an outlying portion of the country town of Waterford, Maine, of distinguished New England ancestry. He traced his descent on the paternal side to Lieutenant Thomas Greene, one of the first settlers of the town of Waterford, and an officer of the old French War as well as in the American Revolution. On his mother's side he was a grandson of General Joseph Frye, the pioneer settler of Fryeburg, for whom that town was named—a soldier eminent in three wars, that resulting in the capture of Louisburg, the old French War where he saw service at Fort William Henry, and in the American Revolution. The martial qualities which our late associate conspicuously possessed were thus his by right of inheritance from the lines of both his parents.

The father of the subject of this sketch, Captain Jacob Holt Greene, was a man of great positiveness of temperament, of decided views regarding the questions which agitated national life in the three decades preceding the Civil War, of strict religious character and of high moral earnestness. From him the son inherited not a little of the temper of mind which led him instinctively to seek and defend the right in any question submitted to him for decision.

Though brought up on a farm, Mr. Greene, like many another son of rural New England, was anxious to obtain an education, and after fitting himself as well as he could by the relatively scanty means within his reach, he entered the University of Michigan, attracted thither by the inexpensiveness with which an education could there be

obtained as well as by the rising reputation of the comparatively new institution of learning. His course of study ended, he began the practice of law at Lapeer, Michigan, about sixty miles to the westward of Detroit; but he had merely entered upon his profession when his patriotism drew him into the military service of his country at the outbreak of the Civil War. In June, 1861, he enlisted as a private in the Seventh Michigan Infantry, beginning a military experience as varied and picturesque and as illustrative of courage, patience and suffering as fell to the lot of any during that national struggle. Entering as a private, his talents and his character led to his rapid advance in the service, until in less than a year he had attained the rank of first lieutenant. The spring of 1862 saw him disabled by an illness lasting for more than a year. On his recovery, in the summer of 1863, he joined the staff of General Custer, serving first as an aide and then as assistant adjutant-general, a duty which continued until his capture by the Confederates under the late General Fitzhugh Lee, in the battle of Trevillion Station, on June 11, 1864. Then followed a period of suffering in Confederate prisons, first in Libby prison at Richmond, then at Macon and at Charleston. From Columbia, which was his last place of confinement, he was paroled and enabled to return to the North. It was not until April 8, 1865, however, that he could effect a release from this parole by exchange and reënter the army almost at the close of the war, becoming once more a member of General Custer's staff.

With General Custer, after the war was over, he went

to Texas in the capacity of chief of staff, and, as such, had an important share in the organization of the cavalry division of Texas. Meanwhile he had risen to the rank of major and had received the title of lieutenant-colonel by brevet.

His war service was in the highest degree honorable. He had shown himself an efficient, courageous and capable leader of men, possessing all the alertness and energy characteristic of a good cavalry officer and endearing him to so efficient a cavalryman as General Custer.

Colonel Greene left the army in April, 1866, and was attracted to Pittsfield, Massachusetts, by the residence there of a brother, Dr. William Greene, a physician of that city. Casting about, like so many other young men who had served their country in the Civil War, for some occupation, he became agent for the Berkshire Life Insurance Company of Pittsfield, a position which he soon exchanged for the more responsible office of assistant secretary of the company. His talents in the management of life insurance interests soon drew attention to him, and led to the offer, in 1870, of a similar position in the Connecticut Mutual Life Insurance Company of Hartford, an office which he entered on July 1, 1870, thus beginning a connection with the company which was to last until his death. In its service he steadily advanced, becoming its secretary in April, 1871, and its president in 1878.

Colonel Greene's association with the business interests of Hartford was wide and efficient. Besides the distinguished presidency of the Connecticut Mutual Life Insurance Company, he was director of the Hartford Fire Insur-

ance Company, of the Phoenix National Bank, and of the New York Dock Company; the vice president of the Connecticut Trust and Safe Deposit Company and of the Society for Savings. As a man of business he had a high reputation for integrity, courage and soundness of financial judgment.

His experiences in the war led him to take much interest in organizations commemorative of military service in the Rebellion. He was president of the Army and Navy Club of Connecticut, a member of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion, of the Society of the Army of the Potomac, and of the Robert O. Tyler Post of the Grand Army of the Republic, in Hartford. Besides his membership in this Society, which we commemorate, he was of the Connecticut Society of the Sons of the American Revolution. As a Mason he was a member of the Berkshire Chapter, Royal Arch Masons, and of the Berkshire Commandery, Knights Templars, of Pittsfield.

The breadth of his interests is indicated by his membership in the American Historical Association, the American Association for the Advancement of Science, his trusteeship of Trinity College at Hartford, of the Berkeley Divinity School at Middletown, of the Wadsworth Athenæum and Watkinson Library of Hartford, and his presidency of the Charity Organization Society of the city of his residence.

His social qualities were evidenced by his membership in the Monday Evening Club of Hartford, in which he was always active, the Hartford Club, the Hartford Golf Club, and the Century Association of New York.

No estimate of Colonel Greene's career would be adequate which did not mention his deep interest in all that made for the welfare of the religious communion of which he was an honored member. At the time of his death he had been for many years a warden of Trinity Church, Hartford. He was prominent in the Church Temperance Society and treasurer of the Bishop's Fund of Connecticut. Of his interest in Berkeley Divinity School, mention has already been made.

His military experience, his pleasing and effective qualities as a speaker and his martial bearing led to many demands upon him to represent his fellow citizens on public or ceremonial occasions. Thus, he was the orator at the meeting in Hartford commemorative of General Grant; he served as grand marshal at the dedication of the Memorial Arch, which is Hartford's worthy commemoration of its sons who shared in the Civil War; he was chairman of the committee which received President Roosevelt on his visit to Hartford in August, 1902, and marshal of the Grand Army parade when that organization held its national reunion at Hartford in May of last year; he was one of the speakers at the inauguration of President Luther of Trinity College in October last, and his services and attainments were honored by the degrees of M.A. bestowed upon him by Yale University in 1898 and of LL.D. by Trinity College in 1904.

Colonel Greene was widely known and widely beloved. Tributes to his memory have been many, but none more aptly expresses the feelings of his associates and friends towards him than the words of his fellow townsman, Rev.

Dr. Edwin Pond Parker, written at the time of his decease:

"To recall, recite and give thanks for those things in his mind, spirit and character which made his friendship precious and his habitual presence among us a great blessing to our community, is a chief source of our consolation for his departure. He certainly was a true and a good man. He was upright, honorable, brave, pure, kindly and friendly. He was gentle and genial and cordial, and radiant of an inner light of life. He was a lovable man, and more and more so as one knew him better and better. He had long ago won and enjoyed, I hope, a warm place in the respect, honor, confidence and affection of a great number of the best people of our city—of our whole community, I may say.

"He had become one of the foremost of our citizens, not by seeking to be so, but by virtue of his personal merits, of his modest readiness for public service, his eager interest in every good work, and the wisdom of his judgments. There was something admirable in his painstaking, persistent, and even plodding pursuit of truth, as in the case of his generous and fine vindication of General Franklin. He was on the Lord's side, in great breadth of opinions and sympathies, and with a vigorous but quiet mind."

Two incidents of no small interest to our Society during the past year have had to do with the erection of historic monuments. The granite block in Norwich, commemorative of the Narragansett chief Miantonomo, first set up in 1841, was repaired under the charge of Major Bela Peck Learned and Mr. Jonathan Trumbull of that city,

a committee of our Society for the purpose, and reërected in June, 1904, on a more desirable site than that chosen more than sixty years ago. Under the efficient charge of another committee from our membership, consisting of Hon. John Hoyt Perry and Mr. Robert Peel Wakeman of Southport, and of Mr. Lewis Beers Curtis and Hon. Morris B. Beardsley of Bridgeport, a granite monument was completed last autumn at Southport to preserve the memory of the Great Swamp Fight of July 13, 1637, by which the power of the Pequot foes of the founders of Connecticut was broken. They form worthy memorials of an important personage and a significant episode in our early colonial history, and are but the beginning, we trust, of similar endeavors on the part of the Society to mark significant sites and to honor the memories of those who bore large share in colonial struggles.

REPORT OF THE HISTORIAN FOR THE YEAR 1905-6

During the year which has elapsed since our last annual meeting, the Society has lost six members by death. The first to be called from our fellowship was Dr. Henry Putnam Stearns of Hartford, whose demise occurred on May 26, 1905, and whose going removed a very familiar figure, as well as a strong and influential citizen, from the place of his residence. Dr. Stearns was born in Sutton, Mass., on April 18, 1828, the son of Asa and Polly (Putnam) Stearns. On both sides of his lineage he was a descendant of colonial ancestry of distinction, being in the sixth generation from Charles Stearns, a nephew of Isaac Stearns, one of the emigrants to Massachusetts in

1630, with Governor Winthrop. He traced one of several claims by which he held membership in this Society to Capt. John Stearns who fought in the Indian wars in the middle of the seventeenth century. On his mother's side he was descended from Lieutenant Thomas Putnam of King Philip's War, and Edward Putnam, a delegate to the Congress of 1774 and a member of the same stock of which General Israel Putnam of Revolutionary fame sprang.

Mr. Stearns' boyhood was spent amid the surroundings of a small country town, and his early education was in its public schools. From Sutton he went, however, to Monson Academy in the town of that name, in Massachusetts, and in 1849 entered Yale College, from which he graduated in 1853, as one of the famous class of that year. His interest had already been aroused in medicine and he now fitted himself for its practice, at Harvard and at Yale, graduating as a Doctor of Medicine at the institution last named, in 1855. On the completion of his medical studies in this country, Dr. Stearns went abroad for further professional training, spending a year in Edinburgh under the instruction of Sir James Simpson. Here he was appointed house surgeon of the Royal Infirmary, and at Edinburgh, in Scotland, in 1857, he married Miss Annie Elizabeth Storrier of Dumfries, who died April 19, 1903.

On his return to this country, in 1857, Dr. Stearns began practice in Marlboro, Mass., and in 1859 took up his residence in Hartford. Always interested in public questions, the outbreak of the Civil War, in 1861, led to his immediate appointment as surgeon of the First Connecticut, a three months regiment. In this capacity he was present

at the first battle of Bull Run, and then assigned to the command of General Fremont. On the expiration of his term of service he enlisted again; and, after the battle of Belmont, he served under General Grant, being present at the battles of Fort Henry, Fort Donaldson and Shiloh. His services as a military surgeon next took him to St. Louis, and were followed by appointment as Medical Director at Paducah, Ky., Jeffersonville, Ind., and Nashville, Tenn. At Nashville the hospitals under his supervision had accommodations for not less than eleven thousand patients, and the situation was one which called for and was met with great executive ability as well as professional skill. At the close of the war he was mustered out of service, on August 25, 1865, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. The conspicuous abilities with which his work had been performed were recognized by the offer of a permanent position in the medical service of the United States, but he preferred to return to Hartford, where he engaged in the general practice of medicine and surgery. Meanwhile, Dr. Stearns had been interesting himself in the phenomena of insanity and the care of the insane, and as a consequence of his reputation as an alienist, as well as his conspicuous executive abilities, he was offered, and accepted, the office of physician and superintendent of the Retreat for the Insane in Hartford, on January 20, 1874. Here he showed himself, as he had in all previous positions, a man of great efficiency as well as of high professional skill. The institution prospered in all its material concerns under his management, while his professional skill is evidenced by the abolition of forms

of mechanical restraint, a reform in which he was a pioneer. Under his able directorship the Hartford Retreat continued and increased the high reputation which it already enjoyed at the time he assumed its control, as in the first rank of hospitals for the care of the insane in the country.

Dr. Stearns was deeply interested in the specialty to which he had devoted himself. From 1876 to 1897, he was lecturer on insanity in Yale University. He published papers in medical journals and contributed discussions to learned societies, and testified as an expert in the trial of Guiteau, the assassin of President Garfield. He was a member of the American Medical Association, of the American Medico-Psychological Association, an honorary member of the British Medico-Psychological Association, of the Boston Medico-Psychological Association, and the Vermont Medical Society. He served, also, as president of the Yale Medical Alumni Association, and as Medical Director of the Travelers Insurance Company of Hartford. His continued interest in his comrades of the Civil War led to his membership in the Loyal Legion. His professional eminence led to the enlistment of his services in philanthropic enterprises, such as the Connecticut Institute for the Blind and the Hartford Hospital.

He was a business man of decided ability and as such served as director of the Connecticut Fire Insurance Company, the Travelers Insurance Company, The Billings & Spencer Company, and as trustee of the Hartford Trust Company.

Dr. Stearns was a man of strong religious character

and was associated with the First Church of Christ in Hartford from April, 1861, to the time of his death. For many years he was deacon of that church, a position which he held at the close of his life. He was also for many years a director of the Connecticut Bible Society. The wide extent of Dr. Stearns' interests was indicated by his membership in the Connecticut Historical Society, the Sons of the American Revolution and the National Geographical Society, as well as in our own Association. He continued in the active duties of his superintendency until enfeeblement consequent upon advancing years compelled his resignation, March 31, 1905, less than two months before his death. Dr. Stearns was a man of striking personal appearance, of distinguished bearing, of great courtesy in his relations with his associates, and of conspicuous force of character. He was a strong and useful man whom it was an honor to have numbered of our associates, and whose going from us in the fullness of a long life of honor and conspicuous service must be a source of sincere regret.

Dr. Stearns was called from our fellowship in the fullness of years. The next of our members to be summoned from us, Harvey Ladew Williams, had but just entered on a life of promise. Mr. Williams was born on March 31, 1875, in New York City, the son of John Townsend and Louise (Ladew) Williams. For many years the residence of his parents was in Stamford in this state, as well as in New York City, and it was from Stamford that Mr. Williams held his membership in our Society.

In 1893, Mr. Williams entered Harvard University and

graduated, with honors, in 1897. At the university he manifested a decided taste for athletics, and engaged successfully in such contests, but he was also a man of strong scholarly tastes, much interested in sociology, political economy and natural sciences. He collected a large and valuable library which was a source of constant satisfaction to him, even amid the disabilities of the last few months of his brief life. After graduation in 1897 he was associated with his father in the care and management of the family real estate in New York City, and in 1899 he married Miss Hannah Willis, by whom, as well as by two children, he was survived.

In 1901 his health failed, through the development of tuberculosis, and after a vain attempt to recover it, by a year spent at Saranac Lake, and a further stay in Arizona, he made his home at Bristol, Tenn., where he engaged, so far as his strength permitted, in business interests. He died at Bristol on August 4, 1905, thus ending all too soon a career that seemed to have in it much promise of usefulness.

The third member of our Society to be taken from us was Hon. William Elmer Seeley. Mr. Seeley was born in Fairfield, Conn., on September 19, 1840, son of Seth and Charity (Wilson) Seeley. He traced his descent from Robert Seeley, one of the early settlers of Fairfield, and held membership in this Society by reason of the military service of Captain Nathaniel Seeley, who was killed in the Great Swamp fight in King Philip's War. Mr. Seeley was educated in the public schools of Bridgeport and early entered upon the business of banking, beginning as an

office boy in the Farmers Bank, which later became the First National Bank of that city. Here he rose through all the positions from the foot to the top of the business ladder, being elected president of the bank in 1892. Mr. Seeley was one of the men to whom the remarkable business development of the city of Bridgeport is due. In addition to his service to the First National Bank of which mention has already been made, he was president of the Peoples Savings Bank of Bridgeport and of the Connecticut Bankers Association, besides being a member of the board of directors of several important manufacturing enterprises in Bridgeport.

He was a companionable man, fond of association with his fellows and much esteemed for his social qualities as well as for his business abilities. He served the city of his residence as treasurer and as an alderman, as a fire commissioner for eight years, and police commissioner for three years, and as one of the officers in charge of its sinking fund. In politics he was a Republican and served as a member of the State Senate in the Legislature of 1901. In that session he was chairman of the Committee on Finance. In 1902, Mr. Seeley was elected State Comptroller, an office which he filled with conspicuous ability. In 1896 he was a member of the Republican National Convention by which Mr. McKinley was selected, and again, in 1904, of the convention by which Mr. Roosevelt was placed in nomination for the presidency. Mr. Seeley was a man of many interests, a member of the Brooklawn, Seaside, Algonquin and Bridgeport Yacht Clubs, as well as of the Union League Club of New York, and the Sons

of the American Revolution. He was a Past Grand Commander of Knights Templar of the Commandery of Bridgeport, and had risen to the thirty-third degree in Masonry. His death occurred very suddenly from apoplexy after previous uniform good health, on August 25, 1905, at his summer home in Lakeville, and his going removes from us a man who will be very greatly and widely missed in the state which had honored him politically, and which he in turn had served in so many ways.

The fourth member of the Society to be called from us was Stephen Whitney, Esq. Mr. Whitney was born in New Haven on October 20, 1841, a son of Henry and Eugenia (Lawrence) Whitney. He traced the lineage by which he was a member with us to Major Thomas Lawrence of the Queens County (Long Island) Forces in the latter part of the seventeenth century, and to Captain John Lawrence of the Newtown Troop. Mr. Whitney's boyhood was spent in New Haven, and his education was conducted in its schools. He entered Yale, and was for a time a member of the classes of 1862 and 1863. But the outbreak of the civil war enlisted his patriotism and interrupted his studies. On August 5, 1861, he was appointed a Second Lieutenant in the Fourth United States Regiment of Artillery, serving with Battery "E." His first military experience was in what was soon to become West Virginia. By the close of 1861 he was raised to the rank of First Lieutenant, and assigned to Battery "D," seeing continuous service at Fortress Monroe and elsewhere in the Military Department of Virginia, till he was honorably released from duty on his own request on November 12, 1863. Mr.

Whitney's interest in army affairs and in his old comrades always remained keen, and on December 7, 1892, he was chosen a member of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion, a relation which he continued till his death.

After the close of the war Mr. Whitney took up a sugar plantation in Louisiana, entering on its cultivation in 1867 and continuing it until 1884. During these years his winters were spent in his southern home, while the summers found him in New Haven. From 1884 till his death, New Haven was his principal place of residence. There he made his beautiful home on Whitney avenue a center of cordial hospitality. He was a man of much personal charm, cordial manners and companionableness, interested in hunting and out-door life, a good citizen and a genial, helpful friend. His attractive qualities of mind and heart led to his association with the Quinpiack Club of New Haven and the Union League Club of New York, and his interest in matters historical was evidenced by membership in the Order of the Runnymedes, as well as in this Society, which now mourns his loss. On August 3, 1905, he suffered a paralytic seizure, from the effects of which he died at his home in New Haven on the third of September following.

The next member of our Society to be taken from us was Major Andrew Goodrich Hammond. Major Hammond was born in Hartford, May 20, 1857, son of Andrew Goodrich and Mary (Ripley) Hammond. He traced his descent from Captain Nicholas Olmstead of King Philip's War, and Captain Roger Pitkin of the Hartford Militia at the close of the seventeenth century. Major Hammond

entered the United States Military Academy at West Point; and, on the completion of the full course there, was appointed Second Lieutenant in 1881, and assigned to the Eighth United States Cavalry. On April 11, 1889, he was appointed a First Lieutenant and received his captaincy on May 31, 1896. Always interested in his native State and its affairs, it was a great satisfaction to his friends, and doubtless to himself, that he was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the First Regiment of Connecticut Volunteers during the Spanish-American War, and did most efficient service in improving the discipline and in increasing the military efficiency of his regiment. When it was mustered out, at the conclusion of his service, Captain Hammond resumed his work in the United States Army, being stationed at Fort Leavenworth, and on August 5, 1903, was appointed major of the Third Cavalry.

He died, after several months illness, in the Military Hospital of the Presidio at San Francisco, on February 21, 1906. Major Hammond was a military officer of high efficiency. He understood thoroughly the technique of his profession and was soldierly in all his bearings. He was a man of attractive social qualities, thoroughly companionable, and one whose friendship was much prized by his associates. His death when he had not yet reached his fiftieth birthday, ends a career which had in it not a little of promise as to the future, as well as achievement in the past and honor in the present.

The last member of our Society to be taken from us was Mr. Archibald Henderson Smith of Stamford and New York. Mr. Smith traced his ancestry to Lieutenant

Samuel Smith of Wethersfield, Conn., lieutenant of the Hadley Troop in King Philip's War, and to Hon. Richard Treat, deputy for Wethersfield, 1637-44, and a member of the Council of Connecticut from 1663 to 1665, and one of the "Assistants" of Connecticut. He was born in New York City on November 6, 1860, the son of James Dickinson and Elizabeth (Henderson) Smith. Mr. Smith was a broker by profession, having early entered his father's firm, then the banking house of Jameson, Smith & Cotting, but later known as James D. Smith & Company. For many years previous to his death he was the managing partner. He made Stamford his home and was greatly interested in all that made for the welfare of the community. He served as a director of the Stamford Yacht Club, as one of the governors of the Wee Burn Golf Club, and of the Suburban Club. He was a director of the Stamford Hospital, a trustee of the First Presbyterian Church of Stamford, and a director of the Stamford Savings Bank.

Mr. Smith's business life was, of course, spent in New York City, where he was a member of the Produce Exchange. He died suddenly, on April 24, 1906, at the Stamford Hospital, after an operation for the relief of appendicitis, and his burial took place in Woodlawn Cemetery, of which he was a director, and the secretary of the Woodlawn Corporation.

A friend who knew him well says of Mr. Smith:

"He was plain and simple in his tastes, devoted to his family, a good friend, and the adviser of many persons in Stamford who needed his assistance and counsel. In fact, I hardly know of any

man who had so many warm and personal friends and whose loss will be so severely felt."

Certainly our list of losses by death, this year, is a long one, and they are such as to reflect honor upon the Society which has been privileged to have such varied usefulness among its membership as well as to cause us all sincere sorrow that they are no longer to be counted of us.

REPORT OF THE HISTORIAN FOR THE YEAR 1906-7

The duties of the Historian of the Society of Colonial Wars are chiefly those of a Necrologist, and as such he would call to our recollection this afternoon those of our membership who have been taken from us by death during the year that has elapsed since our last General Court.

The first of our associates to be called from us was Charles Hotchkiss Trowbridge, Esquire, of Milford, whose death occurred at his home in that town on June 24, 1906. Mr. Trowbridge was born in New Haven on November 11, 1844, the son of John and Betsey (Tomlinson) Trowbridge. He traced the lineage by which he bore membership among us to Governor William Leete, from whom he stood in the eighth generation, and from Lieutenant Thomas Trowbridge of King Philip's War, from whom he was seventh in descent. After graduating from the High School in New Haven, Mr. Trowbridge immediately entered the service of the Mechanics Bank of that city, with which he was to be identified for the long period of forty-one years; for thirty-three years he was its treasurer. In 1886 Mr. Trowbridge was chiefly instrumental in organizing and securing a charter for the Mercantile Safe

Deposit Company of New Haven, of which he continued secretary and treasurer till 1901. Mr. Trowbridge's interest in banking and his appreciation of the value of coöperation led him to urge strongly the organization of the Connecticut Bankers' Association, and on its formation he became its first president. Naturally a man of great companionableness of spirit, his genial qualities made him conspicuous, not merely in business relationships but in many associations of life. Thus he was a member of the New Haven Yacht Club, of the Union League Club of that city, of the New Haven Chamber of Commerce, and the founder of the Higgins Club of Milford, which he organized and of which he was president for ten years. Mr. Trowbridge was greatly interested in all that had to do with the commemoration of our Colonial and Revolutionary history. In 1889 he was a member of the Committee which erected the Milford Memorial Bridge, one of the most successful monuments in this region. He was influential in the erection of the Soldiers' monument, and his interest in the betterment of the present as well as the commemoration of the past led him to be one of the incorporators of the Taylor Library of Milford. Our recent associate became early interested in the Society of Colonial Wars, joining the New York Chapter, of which he was a life-member. In the organization of the Connecticut Society he was one of the leaders, and was elected at once our first Treasurer, an office he continued to hold as long as his health permitted. We remember with gratitude the interest that he took in the welfare of the Society and the fidelity with which he was present at its meetings. In

1901 Mr. Trowbridge suffered from a paralytic stroke which rendered him thenceforward an invalid, so that he was unable to be present with us during the later years of his life. Mr. Trowbridge married Maria Louise, daughter of John Welch Merwin, on September 16, 1869, who survived him with three sons. He was a communicant of St. Paul's Episcopal Church of New Haven, and a member of the Ansantawae Lodge of Masons of Milford.

On June 26, 1906, the Hon. Nathaniel Shipman passed from our companionship. Judge Shipman was born in Southbury, Conn., on August 22, 1828, the son of Rev. Thomas L. Shipman, then pastor of the Congregational church in that place, and of Mary T. (Deming) Shipman. He held membership in our Society as eighth in descent from Lieutenant Thomas Leffingwell, who won fame in King Philip's War. He entered Yale College in 1844 and graduated with the class of 1848. On the completion of his college course Mr. Shipman began the study of Law; and, in 1850, was admitted to the Hartford County Bar and began legal practice in the city of Hartford. There he served with great distinction as a lawyer for twenty-three years, winning the respect and confidence of his associates for his own sterling qualities of character and his profound knowledge of the Law. On beginning his practice he entered into partnership with the late H. K. W. Welch, Esquire, the firm being known as Welch & Shipman, until Mr. Welch died in 1870. His standing in his profession, and the confidence of the community in him, were so marked that it was with universal approval that he received from President Grant an appointment as District Judge of the

United States Court on May 1, 1873, a service that attached to him the title of Judge, by which he was known henceforward to the community. The duties of this office were discharged with the ability and fidelity which characterized all Judge Shipman's work, till on March 19, 1892, he was promoted to the Bench of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals by President Harrison, a position which he held until ill health compelled his resignation on March 23, 1902. Judge Shipman was early and actively engaged in the larger political interests of the community of which he was a citizen. In 1856 he was one of seven who met in the office of the late Senator Joseph R. Hawley to found the Republican party of Connecticut and was the last survivor of this little group. The next year, 1857, saw him a member of the Lower House of the Connecticut Legislature, and from 1858 to 1862 he was private secretary of Hon. William A. Buckingham, the War Governor of Connecticut. In this capacity he was able very materially to be of service to the Union cause, the success of which he had at heart. After beginning his judgeship he was no longer a candidate for public office, but with eminent fidelity he continued throughout his life to exercise the full duties of a citizen anxious to advance, so far as possible, the welfare of the community of which he was a resident. He was of conspicuous service in the legal affairs of Hartford and took part in the caucuses and other political consultations of the representatives of the Republican party, with the beginnings of which he had a part and with which he was always affiliated.

No man ever had more fully the respect of the com-

munity in which he lived than Judge Shipman. His own sterling honesty of character, his hatred of shams and of everything savoring of pretense, and his unfailing kindness of heart, commanded universal esteem. No better man has adorned our Connecticut public life than he. In his professional services, especially on the Bench, he was profoundly respected for his thorough knowledge of the Law and for his evident determination to secure what he deemed the ends of justice. He was impatient of all legal contention, however intellectually skillful, that did not seem to him calculated to promote that which he believed to be right. In personal character he was deeply and sincerely religious. He served for many years as a Deacon of the Farmington Avenue Congregational Church and as a director of the Connecticut Missionary Society. He was a faithful attendant upon the conferences and other consultative bodies of the religious denomination with which he was associated, and his interest in the religious welfare of the community where he lived was a marked feature of his character. A man so trusted and respected as was Judge Shipman was naturally in great demand as a counselor and adviser in legal and in business affairs. Thus he served as a director of the Retreat for the Insane, as president of the Watkinson Library, as vice president of the Wadsworth Athenæum, in the city of his residence; he was also vice president of the American School for the Deaf, of Hartford, and trustee of the Watkinson Juvenile Asylum and Farm School. His interest in the business concerns of Hartford were no less conspicuous. He was a director of the Ætna Insurance Company, of the

Travelers Insurance Company, of the Phoenix Mutual Life Insurance Company, of the Hartford Steam Boiler Inspection and Insurance Company, of the Security Company, and the Collins Company, and one of the trustees of the Society for Savings.

Judge Shipman's home life was singularly attractive. In 1859 he married Miss Mary C. Robinson, a sister of the Hon. Henry C. Robinson, and the home thus established was marked for its friendly hospitality until death separated the husband and wife only a few months before his own decease. Four children, three sons and a daughter, survived him. His memory will long be cherished with affection and reverence by the community and the state in which he lived.

On November 28, 1906, our associate, General George William Baird, died at Asheville, N. C. General Baird held membership in our Society as seventh in descent from Captain John Beard, who commanded the New Haven company in the Great Swamp fight. He was born in Milford, Conn., on December 13, 1839, the son of Jonah Newton and Minerva (Gunn) Baird. Mr. Baird's early education was obtained in the Hopkins Grammar School in New Haven; and, on the completion of the course there, he entered Yale in 1859. The outbreak of the Civil War occurred during his college course. He entered the service of his country as a private, on August 25, 1862. His fidelity to duty and his evident skill in the profession of arms led to his rapid advancement in the service; and, on March 18, 1864, he was promoted to the rank of colonel in the 32d U. S. colored troops, being engaged with that

regiment in the battles of St. John's Bluff, Honey Hill, Deveau Neck, James Island and Morris Island, as well as in the siege of Charleston. Meanwhile, Yale College had enrolled him among its graduates, in view of his largely completed course, counting him as one of the class of 1863. On the conclusion of the War, Colonel Baird entered the regular army, on May 11, 1866, with the rank of second lieutenant of the 10th Infantry. On September 21, following, he was transferred to the 27th Infantry; and, on April 27, 1867, received his promotion to the first lieutenancy. After two and a half years of service with the 27th Infantry, he was transferred, on May 19, 1869, to the 5th Infantry, and for eleven years, in connection with the two regiments last mentioned, March 1867 to July 1878, took part in severe fighting and much arduous campaigning against the Indians of our whole western frontier. During a considerable portion of this period, from 1871 to 1879, he served as adjutant of his regiment and as adjutant-general to General Miles's command. He was twice severely wounded, and was twice recommended for brevet for gallant service in battle. He received the Medal of Honor "For Most Distinguished Gallantry in Action against hostile Nez Percé Indians at Bear Paw Mountain, Montana, September 30, 1877." Possessed thus of an enviable record for faithful and distinguished service, our associate received deserved recognition in his appointment as major and paymaster, on June 23, 1879, and it was while filling this post of duty and stationed in Chicago, that he was admitted a member of our Society. A conspicuous trait of our associate was his deep and

unaffected religious character, and his eager desire to advance the moral welfare of the members of his command and the communities where he served. His advancement in the army continued. On July 12, 1899, he was raised to the rank of lieutenant-colonel and deputy paymaster-general, and on February 19, 1903, was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general of the United States Army.

While seldom able to be present with us on account of the demands of his arduous profession, he was proud to trace his ancestry to Connecticut and to claim Milford as his residence; and we, in turn, are grateful that we have had as one of our number so gallant and honorable a servant of his country as the late General Baird.

On December 6, 1906, John Cropper, Esquire, died at his home in Washington, D. C. Our former associate was born on the twenty-second of May, 1850, the son of Thomas Bayly and Rosina (Mix) Cropper. He traced his descent by which he held membership with us from General John Webster, Captain Nathaniel Turner of the Pequot War, Hon. Richard Treat and Lieutenant Robert Webster of King Philip's War. His father, Thomas Bayly Cropper, was the son of John Cropper, Esquire, of Accomac County, Va., a colonel in the Continental Army, and a member at one time of the staff of General George Washington. The Croppers and Baylys from whom he traced his descent had long been residents of Accomac County, and at the time of his death our late associate held a plantation there which had been in the possession of his family, uninterruptedly, from a time anterior to 1650. Naturally so identified with the traditions and history of Virginia, as well as of Con-

necticut by ancestry, Mr. Cropper was eager to do anything in his power to promote the preservation of the memories of the efforts and struggles of colonial days. This taste was a matter of inheritance. His grandfather, Colonel John Cropper, had been an eminent member of the Society of the Cincinnati, serving as the last president of that society during its earlier period of activity in Virginia. Besides his membership in the Society of Colonial Wars, which we to-day commemorate, our late associate was a member of the New York Society of Cincinnati, and was instrumental in reviving that society in Virginia, being, like his grandfather, its president, and serving in that office nearly to the time of his death. He was also a member of the Society of the War of 1812.

Mr. Cropper's early education was in New York City, where he was born. He graduated from Columbia College with honors in the class of 1870, and two years later received the degree of Bachelor of Law, from the same institution on the termination of his legal studies. Mr. Cropper married Miss Anne McLane of Washington on the twenty-second of November, 1881, and was survived by his widow. Greatly interested in the history of his country, and in the preservation of its memorials, and much respected in the community in which he lived, though he was seldom able to be present at our meetings, we were glad to have had him of our membership and mourn his departure from us.

On Christmas day, 1906, Dr. Timothy Huggins Bishop died. Dr. Bishop was born in New Haven on March 8, 1837, the son of Ebenezer Huggins and Hannah Maria (Lewis) Bishop. He stood in the ninth generation from

Governor Theophilus Eaton, one of the founders of the Colony of New Haven, and the family of which he was a member is one long and honorably identified with the interests of the New Haven community. Dr. Bishop was educated in New Haven and graduated from the medical department of Yale University in the class of 1860. On the completion of his medical course he entered on the practice of his profession in New Haven, which remained henceforth his home. He was interested in the New Haven Hospital, of which he was the secretary for more than twenty-five years, a relation which only terminated on his death.

Dr. Bishop was greatly interested in the work of the Society of Colonial Wars and kindred organizations. He was a most faithful attendant at our meetings and an active participant in all our concerns. Besides his membership in the Society of Colonial Wars he was of the Cincinnati of Connecticut. He was interested in the New Haven Colony Historical Society and was a member of the Quin-nipiack, the Country and the Lawn Clubs of the city of his residence. We shall miss his presence with us at our meetings and shall remember with gratitude his interest in this Society and his desire to coöperate in all that made for its welfare.

The last member of our Society to be called from us was Stewart Woodruff Smith, Esquire, who died at his home in Noroton on May 10, 1907. Mr. Smith was the son of Charles Stewart and Eliza (Bradish) Smith, and traced his descent from Lieutenant Samuel Smith of Wethersfield and Hon. Richard Treat of Governor Winthrop's Council. He

was born on April 12, 1861, in New York City, and came of a family eminent in its commercial interests, his father, who is still living, having been president of the Chamber of Commerce, and having been conspicuous in efforts for political reform and for a better government of the city of New York. Mr. Smith early entered business in his native city, becoming a clerk in the firm of Richardson, Smith & Company, in 1880. The title of the firm was later altered to Smith, Hogg & Company, and our associate became one of the partners in 1887, and so remained until the time of his death, the business being that of dry goods commission merchants. He was a member of the Chamber of Commerce of New York and of the Merchants Club of that city, and director in the Woodlawn Cemetery Association. Besides his membership in the Society of Colonial Wars he was one of the Sons of the American Revolution, and his social interests are attested by participation in the Union League Club of New York, the Stamford Yacht Club, the Suburban Club, and the Wee Burn Golf Club. Mr. Smith made his home on Noroton Hill in Stamford, and was greatly beloved by his associates and by the community where he lived, for his generous qualities of heart and his genial companionableness.

REPORT OF THE HISTORIAN FOR THE YEAR 1907-8

During the year which has elapsed since our last meeting the names of four members of the Society of Colonial Wars have been removed from our roll by death. This is a smaller number of losses than we have sometimes been called to mourn, but we are reminded that mortality takes

its continuous toll of us, and that no annual meeting passes without occasion for very sincere and serious regret as we remember those who have passed from our membership.

On November 21, 1907, two of our associates were thus removed from us. The older in age, and neither of them were what could be called "old men," was George Herbert Day of Hartford, Conn., who held his membership in this Society as fourth in descent from General Israel Putnam of famous memory. He was born in Brooklyn, Conn., on April 3, 1851, the son of Willard Day and Catharine (Brown) Day. The family of which he was a member had long been prominent in the northeastern section of the state, and had been identified, alike, with the religious and commercial development of the region. After such preparation as the common schools of his native town could afford, Mr. Day became a student in Hobart College in Geneva, N. Y., but was compelled to interrupt his course of study there by reason of a breaking down of his eyesight. He now determined to engage in business, and, in 1870, became a clerk in the office of the Charter Oak Life Insurance Company of Hartford. After seven years of this employment he became associated, in 1877, with the Weed Sewing Machine Company. A year later the manufacture of bicycles by that company began, an order having been placed with it by that pioneer of the bicycle industry in America, Colonel Albert A. Pope. Mr. Day was quick to see the advantages of the new method of locomotion, and was enthusiastic in its support, not merely urging the manufacture as a desirable enterprise for the company with which he was associated, but becoming one of the

founders of the Connecticut Bicycle Club. The enterprise, as all know, prospered greatly, and with its prosperity Mr. Day rapidly rose in recognition as a man of great business abilities. In 1879 he was made secretary of the Weed Sewing Machine Company. In 1888 he became, also, its assistant treasurer, and the next year took the office both of secretary and full treasurer, till, in 1889, he was made president of the company, retaining the office of treasurer also. When, in 1890, the property of the Weed Sewing Machine Company became that of the Pope Manufacturing Company, Mr. Day became vice president and general manager of the new enterprise, an office which he continued to hold until 1899.

Mr. Day's experiences with the bicycle, and his active concern in its development, led, naturally, to a similar interest in other means of locomotion, and it was but fitting that when the automobile began to come into use on this side of the Atlantic it should find an advocate in him. On successive journeys to France, in 1897, 1898, 1899, he learned what he could of this vehicle, as then developed, and under the impulse of his enthusiasm its manufacture was undertaken by the Pope Manufacturing Company. The rapid development of the industry led to the formation of the Columbia Electric Vehicle Company, of which Mr. Day was president and general manager. And it was the development of this new enterprise and its associated concerns that induced him to resign, in 1899, the connection with the Pope Manufacturing Company, that he had so long and successfully maintained. To the end of his life he continued his intense interest in the development and

improvement of the automobile, and was engaged in enterprises for its manufacture.

Mr. Day was a man of broad and varied interests, actively sympathetic in all that made for the welfare, and especially for the business welfare, of the city of his residence. He was one of the founders of the Hartford Board of Trade, in 1888. He served as director of the American National Bank, of the Phoenix Mutual Life Insurance Company, of the Ætna Insurance Company, and as a trustee of the Society for Savings and of the Dime Savings Bank, in the city in which he made his home. He was actively interested in the development of the residence district adjacent to the newly established factory section of Hartford, and to further this enterprise was prominent in the organization of the Hartford Real Estate Improvement Company, which he served as treasurer. He served the city as a member of the park commission, and, in 1893, was on the board which provided for the adequate representation of Connecticut in the Chicago Exposition.

A further aspect of Mr. Day's varied activity was exhibited in his devotion to the interests of the Church of the Good Shepherd, of which he was vestryman for many years.

Our late associate was a man, not merely of marked business skill, but of many attractive and lovable qualities, so that he is greatly missed in the city, the prosperity of which he did so much to develop. At the time of his death he was thus fittingly characterized by one of his associates in this Society, from whose tribute I quote:

"In business he was an expert in system and method, and to these, supplemented by his executive ability and the respect, goodwill and loyalty of all who came in touch with him, are due his business success. He was conspicuously honest with all men; patient in conference, fair and just in recognition of the rights of others, and judicial and temperate in his action. I have never known a man who had the ability to win over an opponent or a dissatisfied agent or employee so quickly and so happily as George Herbert Day. Many a man came into his office in Hartford to oppose who went away to praise and therefore to coöperate with him. This was in my opinion one of the principal foundations of his business success. And this same characteristic, when carried into his friendships, made him beloved by all. He was also loyal to his friends but never subservient for mere friendship's sake. If he could not follow them, he told them so frankly, with his reasons. This loyalty also never yielded to personal advantage, and better than all, he was never even conscious of the temptation. He was always true to himself as well as to his friends. What better thing can we say of any man than this? What better epitaph can we write for our friend, George Herbert Day?"

Mr. Day's death occurred in Daytona, Fla., whither he had gone for rest and in search of the restoration of his health.

On the same date on which Mr. Day passed from us, Orange Merwin died suddenly of apoplexy while present at a meeting of the Men's League of the Park Street Congregational Church in Bridgeport. Mr. Merwin traced the ancestry by which he held membership in this Society to Lieutenant William Fowler, a soldier in King Philip's War, from whom he was seventh in the line of descent. Mr. Merwin was born in New Milford, Conn., August 21, 1854, the son of Horace and Sarah F. (Peet) Merwin. He early

removed to Bridgeport, and entered the employ of A. L. Winton, Esq., in the Berkshire Mills, as bookkeeper, a position which he relinquished for that of clerk in the People's Savings Bank. In 1881, he was advanced to the post of teller in that institution, and, in 1886, established the firm of Marsh, Merwin & Lemmon, to conduct a general banking and insurance business, which proved exceedingly successful. In 1901, this undertaking developed into the Bridgeport Trust Company, of which Mr. Merwin was one of the organizers and vice president. He also interested himself largely in Bridgeport real estate, and was president of the Bridgeport Land and Title Company.

All that made for the business welfare of the city of his residence was his concern, and he won for himself a high and influential position among those who have so largely developed its enterprises. In politics Mr. Merwin was a Republican and was for many years a member of the Republican town committee. He was not a seeker for office, though desired by his party as mayor; but served the city for a number of years as fire commissioner, occupying the post of president of the fire board. Mr. Merwin was a man of earnest Christian character, much interested in the religious work of Bridgeport. He served as clerk of the Park Street Congregational Church, and was the organizer of its Men's League and the first president of that organization. He was an active teacher in its Sunday school. He was greatly interested in the prosperity of the Young Men's Christian Association, to which he largely contributed, and to the development of the Boys' Club in connection with its work. The tributes to his Christian

character paid at the time of his decease were but the fitting expression of this aspect of his life.

Mr. Merwin was eminently a companionable man, and this quality found expression not merely in membership in our own Society, but in many other associations. He belonged to the Seaside Club and the Roof Tree Club of Bridgeport, the Brooklawn Country Club, and the Metabetchouan Club of Canada. He was greatly interested in Freemasonry, in which he had risen to the thirty-second degree.

Altogether our late associate was a man of many attractive qualities of head and heart, of genial companionableness, of marked business ability, and of earnest Christian character.

The next of our associates to be taken from us was that eminent scholar, Professor Thomas Day Seymour of Yale, whose death occurred in New Haven on December 31, 1907. Professor Seymour traced the descent by which he held membership in our Society to Governor John Haynes, one of the founders of Connecticut, from whom he stood in the tenth generation. He came of scholarly ancestry, having been born in Hudson, O., on April 1, 1848, the son of Nathan Perkins and Elizabeth (Day) Seymour. At the time of his birth, and for many years after, his father, a graduate of Yale of the class of 1834, was professor of Greek and Latin in Western Reserve College, then located in Hudson, but since that time removed to Cleveland, and now known as Western Reserve University. Brought up, thus, in the home of a scholar, Mr. Seymour followed the parental bent and was early inspired with that love of

the classics, especially of Greek, which he was ever afterward to manifest. He graduated at the college in which his father was an instructor in 1870, and followed the completion of his course there by further studies in Berlin and Leipsic, which laid the foundation of friendships which he then and afterwards greatly valued. On his return to this country, in 1872, he became professor of Greek in his *alma mater*, a position which he occupied for eight years, until he was called to the professorship in Yale University, in 1880, in which he was to render such distinguished service till the time of his death.

Professor Seymour at once interested himself in the development of classical studies in America and in the prosecution of scholarly research in Greece, Asia Minor and the islands of the Ægean. In any enterprise that had for its end the advancement of American scholarship in these branches he was an active and eager participant. He was president of the Archæological Institute of America, chairman of the managing committee of classical studies of the American School in Athens, and a member of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies of London and of the Archæological Society of Athens.

Unremitting in the work of his study, a long series of valuable contributions to our knowledge of Greek literature and archæology were the fruits of his labors. Thus, in 1882, he published the *Selected Odes of Pindar*; in 1885, an introduction to the *Language and Verse of Homer*; in 1887, an edition of the *First Six Books of the Iliad*; in 1889, an *Homeric Vocabulary*; and, in 1897, *Introduction*

and Vocabulary to School Odyssey. Besides these larger works, he was constantly producing papers and discussions of philological and archæological questions, and few meetings of the Archæological Institute of America were without some contribution of value from him. But, in a measure rarely granted to productive scholars, he was able to finish out his life work. The autumn before he died saw the completion and publication of his "Life in the Homeric Age," a monument of immense labor, illustrative alike of great erudition and of well-poised and careful judgment, which must remain the volume on which his fame as a scholar will principally rest. It is a great satisfaction, if he must be taken from us, to feel that he was enabled thus to complete the task upon which all the later years of his life had been engaged.

Professor Seymour was greatly beloved as a teacher and as a man. Scholarly in all his tastes, he was characterized by much simplicity and kindness in his relations with his students and associates. To know him was to trust him. He was a lover of music and highly appreciative of the best in musical development. He was earnestly interested in all that made for the religious welfare of the University in which he was an instructor, and, at the time of his death, was one of the committee of the College Church. The quality of his scholarship was everywhere recognized, and it was as testimony to it that the degree of Doctor of Laws was given him by Western Reserve University in 1894, the University of Glasgow in 1901, and Harvard University in 1906. In his death the Uni-

versity where he labored has lost one of its most eminent and beloved instructors, and all American classical scholarship mourns his decease.

The last member of our Society to be taken from us was Joseph Gurley Woodward, Esq., of Hartford, whose death occurred on March 5, 1908. Mr. Woodward stood eighth in descent from Lieutenant Thomas Leffingwell of King Philip's War. He was born in Willimantic on July 26, 1836, the son of Joseph and Almira (Gurley) Woodward. After receiving the instruction of the schools of his native place, he became for a brief period a teacher in Willimantic, but the life of business was more attractive to him than the teacher's profession, and as a young man he removed to Hartford, where he became teller of the Bank of Hartford County, and was, later, in the employ of the Exchange Bank, becoming assistant cashier in the last-named institution. In 1876, he established business as a broker, an occupation which he pursued until the time of his death, attaining the distinction of becoming the oldest broker in active service in the city of his residence.

Mr. Woodward was greatly interested in all that had to do with the memories of our colonial and revolutionary past. Besides his membership in this Society he was associated with the Sons of the American Revolution, and served as chairman of its Publication Society, and was an occasional contributor to its papers. A man of social qualities, of much culture and of many interests, he was vice president of the German club known as *Der Verein*. He was one of the original members of the Hartford City Guard and was much interested in the Young Men's

Institute, of which he was president, which ultimately became the Hartford Public Library. A loyal and active member of this Society, he will be greatly missed from our gatherings, in which his genial qualities and attractive personality made his presence always welcome.

REPORT OF THE HISTORIAN FOR THE YEAR 1908-9

During the year which has just closed the Connecticut Society of Colonial Wars has lost three from its roll of membership by death. The number of those who have thus left us is less, we are glad to note, than in some previous years, but all three are men whom we could ill afford to spare from our membership, and whose departure from us we sincerely mourn.

The first to be summoned by death was Colonel George Bliss Sanford, whose decease occurred on July 13, 1908. Colonel Sanford traced the descent by which he held membership in this Society from Lieutenant John Lyman who commanded the Northampton soldiers in the Falls fight in King Philip's War, from Captain John Miles who served in the Great Swamp fight in the same struggle, from Deputy-Governor Benjamin Fenn of Milford, and from Captain Samuel Newton who also served in the contest with King Philip. It was therefore but fitting that our late associate should feel in his own veins the impulse to the soldier's life. After his retirement from active military service, Colonel Sanford made Litchfield his home, and the following admirable sketch, evidently written by one familiar with the details of his career as well as inspired by personal regard, appeared in the Litchfield

correspondence of the *Hartford Courant*, and well sets forth his life and services:

"He was born in New Haven, June 28, 1842, the son of William Earle and Margaret (Craney) Sanford, of an old New Haven family. He fitted for college at the Russell Military School, New Haven, and entered Yale with the Class of 1863. He left college during his sophomore year to enter the regular army, having been appointed second lieutenant of the First Dragoons, April 26, 1861. After the war he was given his degree of B.A. with his class. After being appointed second lieutenant he was sent to Missouri, where he fought through the Wilson Creek campaign under General Nathaniel Lyon, who was killed during one of the first engagements.

"In 1862, with his regiment, he was with the Army of the Potomac and engaged in the Peninsular and Antietam campaigns. Later, he was attached to the staff of General Merritt, U. S. Cavalry, and was in that service during 1863 and the early part of 1864. In the spring of 1864, he rejoined his regiment and was engaged in the battle of the Wilderness and the James River campaign. Later, he was appointed on the staff of General Torbert, who commanded Grant's cavalry corps, and, with Sheridan, was in the Valley campaign and continued with Torbert until the end of the war.

"At the close of the war he again rejoined his regiment, which was acting as escort to General Sheridan at New Orleans. He then went to California and later to Fort McDowell, and during the next five years he was engaged in almost daily conflicts with the passing Indians and in exploring unknown parts of this country north of the Gila River.

"When Arizona was organized into a territory Colonel Sanford was strongly urged to become its first governor but declined, preferring to remain in the army. In 1871 he was granted a long leave of absence, which he spent in touring Europe. On his return he rejoined his regiment in Idaho and fought the Indians and explored unknown parts of Idaho, Oregon, Washington and Alaska. He was transferred to San Francisco and Nevada and engaged in the

campaigns with the Nez Percés, Bannocks and Apache Indians, and, in 1876, he was engaged in the Sioux campaign when General Custer was killed. In 1884, he was ordered to the Military School of Applied Science at Fort Leavenworth, and, later, to Washington as a member of a board to devise a new system of tactics for the United States Army, and that system is still in use. He was appointed a captain of the United States Army in 1862, brevet major in 1864, for gallant and meritorious conduct at the battle of Cedar Creek, and brevet lieutenant colonel in 1865, for gallant and meritorious conduct during the war. He was made a full lieutenant colonel of the Ninth Cavalry in 1889, and a full colonel of the Sixth Cavalry in July 1892, in which year he retired.

"He was president of the Society of Cincinnati for the state of Connecticut, a member of the Loyal Legion, a member of the Sons of the Revolution, a member of the Society of Colonial Wars, and of the Society of the War of 1812. He was also a member of the following clubs: the University of New York, the Metropolitan of Washington, D. C., the Graduates of New Haven, and of several others in this country and Europe. He was a vestryman of St. Michael's Episcopal Church of Litchfield.

"He was married to Miss Gertrude Minturn, daughter of Jonas Minturn of Bristol, R. I. She survives him with two daughters."

The next of our membership to be taken from us had also shared in the military service of his country, though younger in years than Colonel Sanford. Colonel Augustus Cleveland Tyler of New London died on November 27, 1908. He held membership in our Society by descent from Captain Thomas Willet of Plymouth, the first English mayor of New York, and from Rev. Timothy Edwards, chaplain of the Colonial forces in the expedition against Canada in 1711. Colonel Tyler was born in Norwich on May 2, 1851, the son of General Daniel and Emily (Lee) Tyler. His father, General Daniel Tyler, had had a dis-

tinguished career as an officer in the United States army, as an engineer, and as a railroad president. After his son's birth he was to add fresh laurels to his reputation by eminent services in the Civil War. The subject of our sketch received his early education in New York City until his admission to the United States Military Academy at West Point. After his graduation from our military school in the class of 1873, he was commissioned a lieutenant in the United States Cavalry, and continued in army service until his resignation in 1878. Colonel Tyler interested himself greatly in the military affairs of his native state, and at the beginning of the Spanish War was in command of the Third Regiment of the Connecticut National Guard, being commissioned on July 6, 1898. With his regiment he saw active service in the brief campaign. He had a delightful summer home in New London and spent his winters usually in Washington, where he also had a residence, and where he made his friends cordially welcome. Colonel Tyler's business interests were many, but one of them which commanded not a little of his attention was of unusual character. He devoted himself to the raising of tea in this country, and he served as president of the American Tea Growing Company, on whose property in North Carolina he was able to demonstrate that tea of high quality could be successfully grown. Our late associate was a member of the University Club and the Manhattan Club of New York as well as of the New York Yacht Club, of the Thames Club of New London, and of the Metropolitan and Chevy Chase Clubs of Washington. In this Society,

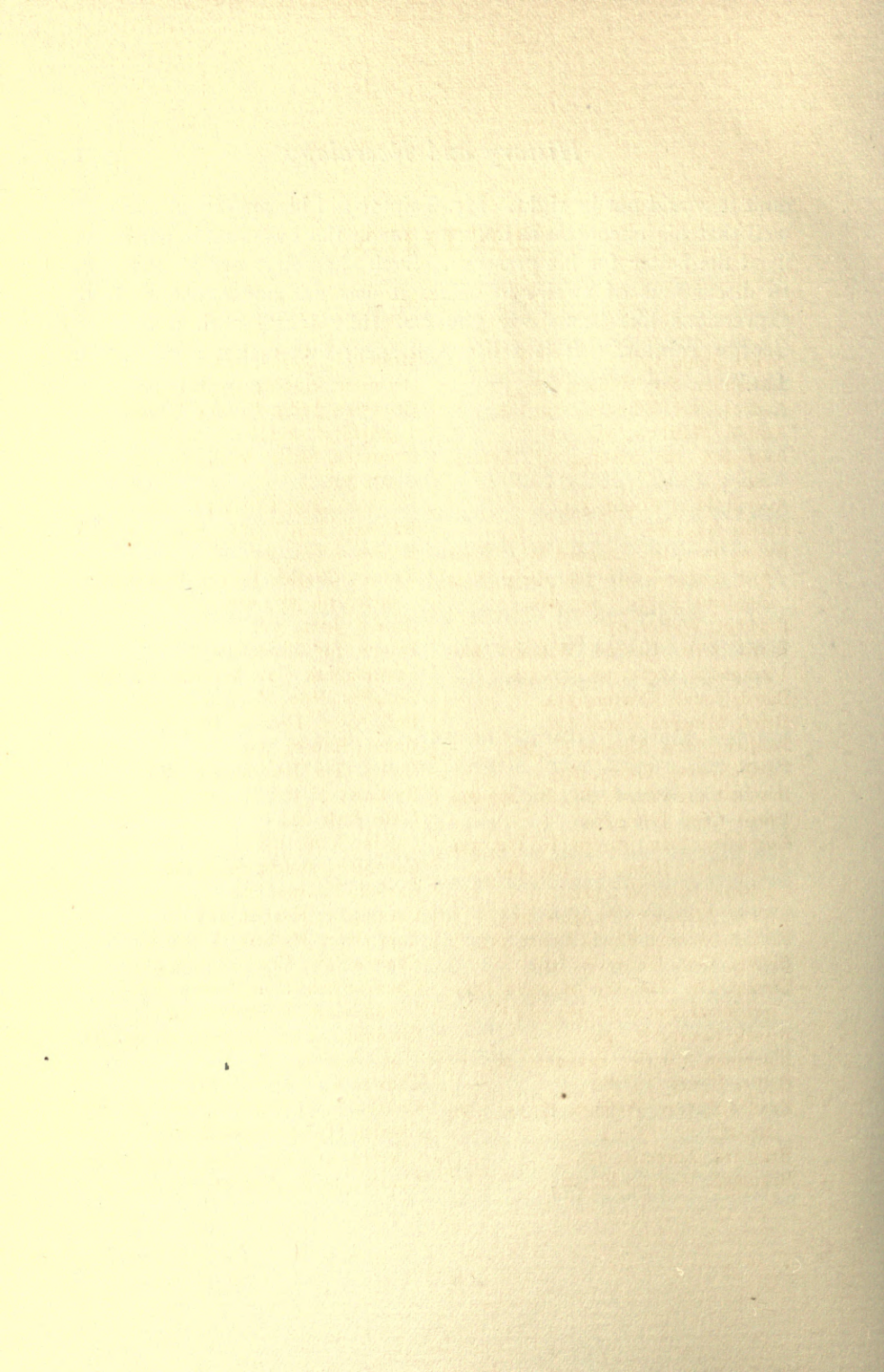
Colonel Tyler held a life membership, and was always a loyal supporter of its interests. He married, in January 1878, Miss Cornelia Osgood, who survived him with three children. Colonel Tyler was a man of marked and cordial hospitality.

The last of the members of our Society to be removed by death was Mr. George Edwin Taintor of Hartford, whose decease occurred on April 17, 1909, after an illness of long duration. He traced the descent by which he held membership in this Society from Governor Roger Wolcott who commanded the Connecticut forces against Louisbourg in 1745, and from Captain David Ellsworth who served in the same memorable expedition. Mr. Taintor was born in Hampton, Connecticut, on December 20, 1846, the son of Henry G. and Delia (Ellsworth) Taintor. His father held the office of School Fund Commissioner for Connecticut for many years. In 1863, when seventeen years of age, Mr. Taintor entered the service of Collins & Fenn of Hartford, working his way up gradually to membership in the firm, which was, at the time, one of the large dry goods commission houses in the country. Mr. Taintor next became associated with the banking business of G. P. Bissell & Co. of Hartford, and for the last twenty years of his life was in the service of Messrs. James and Francis Goodwin. Mr. Taintor, at the time of his decease, was a director of the State Bank of Hartford, a vice president of the Society for Savings of that city, a trustee of Keney Park, of the Watkinson Farm School, and of the Hartford Handicraft Schools. Mr. Taintor was an active Republican in politics, and was a member of the First

Church of Hartford, in the affairs of which he was greatly interested and strongly influential. He married, on October 25, 1870, Miss Emily Strong Davis, daughter of Gustavus F. Davis of Hartford, who survives him with one child. Our late associate was a man who not merely commanded the cordial respect, but the warm affection of those who were brought into contact with him. His own estimate of himself was modest, and he refused official position in our Society which it would gladly have given him could he have been persuaded to accept it. He served us well as secretary and chairman of the committee on membership, and much of the success of this Society is due to his patient and faithful efforts in its behalf. The following appreciation appeared in the *Hartford Courant* at the time of his decease and well describes his character :

"The death of George E. Taintor on Saturday morning was not unexpected; his friends, and he himself, have known for some time that it was likely soon to come. This may lessen the shock somewhat, but it does not lessen the sense of loss to the community in which he was so much esteemed and in which his upright and unassuming life was a constant illustration of useful citizenship and Christian manliness. He came and went about his daily business quietly and was altogether unaware for himself of the force of the example that he set every day with his fidelity and industry and trustworthiness. It has been the regret of some of his friends that public life had so little attraction for him, for there were times when he had only to say the word to receive high office. But, if he seemed in this respect to neglect his duties as a citizen, others were always to be found who stood ready to serve, and he was yielding to the impulse of a modesty that shrank from prominence; indeed, it is conceivable that even such a thing as a newspaper paragraph about him might have been against his wishes, but it is only his due and to

omit it would not be right. Mr. Taintor did his appointed work so well that his unconscious influence made the community where he lived the better for his presence. Such characters are all too few. In discussions of affairs in offices it was not uncommon to hear expressions like 'somebody you can fully trust—such a man as George Taintor.' It is a life well spent that makes a name like that."



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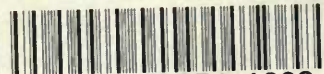
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